Frontispiece Vol. I.
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
THE SOUTHERN OCEAN
SOUTH SEA
NORTH SEA
NEW SPAIN
TERRA FIRMA
AMAZONS
PERU
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CHILI
TERRA MAGELLANICA
Guiana
Trinidad
Cape Verd Is.
P. OF AFRICA
Equinoctial Line
Tropic of Capricorn
Land seen by an Englishman in 1630
Longitude from London
An ACCURATE MAP of SOUTH AMERICA Drawn from the Best Modern Maps & Charts and Regulated by Astron.l Observat.ns By Eman.l Bowen Geog.r to his Majesty

10480.e.3

AN ACCOUNT OF THE European Settlements IN AMERICA.

IN SIX PARTS.

I. A ſhort Hiſtory of the Diſcovery of that Part of the World.
II. The Manners and Cuſtoms of the original Inhabitants.
III. Of the Spaniſh Settlements.
IV. Of the Portugueſe.
V. Of the French, Dutch, and Daniſh.
VI. Of the Engliſh.

Each PART contains

An accurate Deſcription of the Settlements in it, their Extent, Climate, Productions, Trade, Genius and Diſpoſition of their Inhabitants: the Intereſts of the ſeveral Powers of Europe with reſpect to thoſe Settlements; and their Political and Commercial Views with regard to each other.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

The SIXTH EDITION, with IMPROVEMENTS.

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M.DCC.LXXVII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE.

THE affairs of America have lately engaged a great deal of the public attention. Before the preſent war, there were but a very few who made the hiſtory of that quarter of the world any part of their ſtudy; though the matter is certainly very curious itſelf, and extremely intereſting to us as a trading people.

The hiſtory of a country which, though vaſt in extent, is the property only of four nations; and which, though peopled probably for a ſeries of ages, is only known to the reſt of the world for about two centuries, does not naturally afford matter for many volumes. Yet it is certain, that, to acquire a proper knowledge

of the hiſtory of the events in America, an idea of its preſent ſtate, and a competent judgment of its trade, a great deal of reading has been found requiſite. And I may add, that the reading on many parts of this ſubject is dry and diſguſting; that authors have treated on it, ſome without a ſufficient knowledge of the ſubject, and others in ſuch a manner as no knowledge of the ſubject in the author could induce any body to become readers. That ſome are loaded with a lumber of matter that can intereſt very few; and that others obſcure the truth in many particulars, to gratify the low prejudices of parties, and, I may ſay, of nations. Whatever is written by the Engliſh ſettled in our colonies, is to be read with great caution; becauſe very few of them write without a bias to the intereſt of the particular province to which they belong, or perhaps to a particular faction in that province. It is only by comparing the printed accounts with one another, and thoſe with the beſt private informations, and correcting all by authentic matter

of record, that one can diſcover the truth; and this hath been a matter of ſome difficulty.

With regard to the foreign ſettlements, recourſe was had to the beſt printed accounts, of travellers and others; and, in ſome points, to private information from intelligent traders. The materials for the foreign ſettlements are far from being as perfect, or as much to be depended upon, as we could wiſh; it was very ſeldom that I could venture to tranſcribe any thing directly from them without ſome addition or ſome corrective.

In the hiſtorical part of this work, I fixed my eye principally on ſome capital matters, which might the moſt fully engage and beſt reward the attention of the reader; and in treating of thoſe, I dwelt only upon ſuch events as ſeemed to me to afford ſome political inſtruction, or to open the characters of the principal actors in thoſe great ſcenes. The affairs which ſeemed moſt worthy of an ac-

count

count of any length, are thoſe ſplendid and remarkable events of the diſcovery of America, and the conqueſt of the only two civilized kingdoms it contained.

In treating of other parts, I have given ſo much of the hiſtory of each country as may ſerve to ſhew, when and upon what principles it was planted, to enable the reader the better to judge of its preſent condition. Theſe accounts are very ſhort; and, conſidering of what ſort of matter ſuch hiſtories are compoſed, I believe I ſhall deſerve as much for what I have omitted, as for what I have inſerted. If I could not write well upon any ſubject, I have endeavoured always to write conciſely.

My principal view, in treating of the ſeveral ſettlements, was, to draw every thing towards their trade, which is the point that concerns us the moſt materially; for which reaſon, I have but little conſidered their civil, and yet leſs their natural hiſtory, further

than

than as they tended to throw ſome light upon the commerce of theſe countries; except where the matters were very curious, and ſerved to diverſify the work.

It is not to be expected that a performance of this kind can be written equally throughout. In ſome places, the ſubject refuſes all ornament; and the matter, dry in itſelf, is by no art to be made otherwiſe: in ſome, a contagion communicated from the dulneſs of materials, which yet were neceſſary to the work, may probably appear; in many, and perhaps the moſt blameable parts, the author alone muſt be anſwerable.

Having ſpoken perhaps a little too hardly of my materials, I muſt except the aſſiſtance I have had from the judicious collection called Harris's Voyages. There are not many finer pieces than the hiſtory of Brazil in that collection; the light in which the author ſets the events in that hiſtory is fine and inſtructive; an uncommon ſpirit prevails through it; and

deep

his remarks are every where ſtriking and deep. The little ſketch I have given in the part of Portugueſe America, if it has any merit, is entirely due to that original. However the accounts given of many things in that part of his work which relates to the Engliſh and French ſettlements may be defective, and ſuited rather to the ancient than to the preſent ſtate of affairs in that part of the world; his remarks have rarely this fault; and where I differ from him in any reſpect, it is with deference to the judgment of a writer, to whom this nation is much obliged, for endeavouring every where with ſo much good ſenſe and eloquence to rouſe that ſpirit of generous enterprize, that can alone make any nation powerful or glorious.

A. D. 1761.

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AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS

IN

AMERICA.

VOL. I.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PART I.

The discovery of America, and the reduction of Mexico and Peru.

CHAP. I.

The state of Europe before the discovery of America. The project of Columbus. His application to several courts. His successful application to that of Spain. His voyage. The discovery of the Bahamas, and Greater Antilles.

THERE was an extraordinary coincidence of events at the time that the discovery of America made one of the principal; the invention of printing, the making of gunpowder, the improvement of navigation, the revival of ancient learning, and the reformation; all of these conspired to change the face of Europe entirely. At this time the principal monarchies began to knit, and to acquire the strength, and take the form,

they have at this day. Before this period, the manners of Europe were wholly barbarous; even in Italy, where the natural mildneſs of the climate and the dawning of literature had a little ſoftened the minds of the people, and introduced ſomething approaching towards politeneſs, the hiſtory preceding this æra, and indeed for ſome time after it, is nothing but one ſeries of treaſons, uſurpations, murders, and maſſacres: nothing of a manly courage, nothing of a ſolid and rational policy. Scarce any ſtate had then very extenſive views, or looked much further than to the preſent advantage. They did not well comprehend the complicated ſyſtem of intereſts that Europe formed even long before this. Lewis the eleventh, who was looked upon as one of the wiſeſt princes in his time, and one who ſacrificed every thing to his ambition, ſacrificed one of the faireſt objects of that ambition to a pique, which ſince his time could have little influence on the counſels of any prince. His ſon, Charles the eighth, as he won Italy without either courage or conduct, ſo he loſt it by a chain of falſe meaſures, ſuch as we may venture to ſay has no parallel in later times. A wild romantic courage in the Northern and Weſtern parts of Europe, and a wicked policy in the Italian ſtates, was the character of that age. If we look into the manners of the courts,

there appear but very faint marks of cultivation and politeneſs. The interview between our Edward the fourth and his brother of France, wherein they were both caged up like wild beaſts, ſhews diſpoſitions very remote from a true ſenſe of honour, from the dignity of their ſtations, or any juſt ideas of politeneſs and humanity. All the anecdotes which remain of theſe and other courts, are in the ſame ſpirit.

If the courts had made ſuch poor advances in policy and politeneſs, which might ſeem the natural growth of courts at any time, both the courts and the people were yet leſs advanced in uſeful knowledge. The little learning which then ſubſiſted, was only the dotage of the ſcholaſtic philoſophy of words; together with the infancy of politer learning, which only concerned words too, though in another way. The elegance and purity of the Latin tongue was then the higheſt, and almoſt the only point of a ſcholar's ambition. Mathematical learning was little valued or cultivated. The true ſyſtem of the heavens was not dreamed of. There was no knowledge at all of the real form of the earth; and in general the ideas of mankind were not extended beyond their ſenſible horizon.

In this ſtate of affairs Chriſtopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, undertook to

extend the boundaries which ignorance had given to the world. This man's deſign aroſe from the juſt idea he had formed of the figure of the earth; tho' the maps, more erroneous than his conjectures, made him miſtake the object. His deſign was to find a paſſage to China and India by the Weſtern Ocean. It is not improbable, that beſides the glory attending ſuch a diſcovery, and the private advantages of fortune he might propoſe to derive from it, Columbus had a further incentive from national jealouſy and reſentment. Venice and Genoa were then almoſt the only trading powers in Europe; and they had no other ſupport of their power but their commerce. This bred a rivalſhip, a jealouſy, and frequent wars between them; but in traffick Venice was much ſuperior; ſhe had drawn to herſelf almoſt the whole commerce of India, always one of the moſt valuable in the world, and then carried on only by the way of Egypt and the Red Sea. An emulation of this kind might probably have put Columbus on finding another and more direct paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies, and by that means transferring this profitable trade to his own country. But neither that which he ſought, nor that which he found, was deſtined for his country. However, he performed the duty of a good citizen, and made his firſt propoſal at home; at home it was rejected. Diſcharged of this obligation, he

applied

applied to the court of France, and meeting no better ſucceſs there, he offered next his ſervices to our Henry the ſeventh. This prince was rather a prudent ſteward and manager of a kingdom than a great king, and one of thoſe defenſive geniuſes who are the laſt in the world to reliſh a great but problematical deſign. It is therefore no wonder that his brother, whom Columbus had employed to ſolicit in England, after ſeveral years ſpent here, had little ſucceſs in his negociation. But in Portugal, where he applied himſelf after his failure here, his offers were not only rejected but he was inſulted and ridiculed; he found, however, in theſe inſults, and this ridicule, a new incitement to purſue his ſcheme, urged forward by the ſtings of anger and reſentment.

Laſt of all he exerciſed his intereſt and his patience for eight years together at the court of Ferdinand and Iſabella. There is a ſort of enthuſiaſm in all projectors, abſolutely neceſſary for their affairs, which makes them proof againſt the moſt fatiguing delays, the moſt mortifying diſappointments, the moſt ſhocking inſults; and, what is ſeverer than all, the preſumptuous judgments of the ignorant upon their deſigns. Columbus had a ſufficient ſhare of this quality. He had every day, during this long ſpace, to combat with every objection that want of knowledge, or that a falſe knowledge, could propoſe. Some held

that the known world, which they thought was all that could be known, floated like a vaſt ſcum upon the ocean; that the ocean itſelf was infinite. Others, who entertained more juſt notions, and believed that the whole of the earth and waters compoſed one vaſt globe, drew a conſequence from it as abſurd as the former opinion. For they argued, that if Columbus ſhould ſail beyond a certain point, the convexity of this globe would prevent his return. As is uſual in ſuch caſes, every one abounded with objections. His whole time was ſpent in fruitleſs endeavours to enlighten ignorance, to remove prejudice, and to vanquiſh that obſtinate incredulity, which is of all others the greateſt enemy to improvement, rejecting every thing as falſe and abſurd, which is ever ſo little out of the track of common experience; and it is of the more dangerous conſequence, as it carries a deluſive air of coolneſs, of temper and wiſdom. With all this, he had yet greater difficulties from the intereſts of mankind, than from their malignity and ignorance. The expence of the undertaking, inconſiderable as this expence was, was at the bottom the chief ſupport of the other objections, and had more weight than all the reſt together. However, with an aſſiduity and firmneſs of mind, never enough to be admired and applauded, he at length overcame all difficulties; and, to his inexpreſſible joy, with a

fleet

fleet of three ſhips, and the title and command of an admiral, ſet ſail on the third of Auguſt, 1492, on a voyage the moſt daring and grand in the deſign, and in the event of which the world was the moſt concerned, of any that ever yet was undertaken.

It muſt not be omitted here, in honour to the ſex, and in juſtice to Iſabella, that this ſcheme was firſt countenanced, and the equipment made by the queen only; the king had no ſhare in it; ſhe even raiſed the money neceſſary for the deſign upon her own jewels.

I do not propoſe to relate all the particulars of Columbus's voyage in a track now ſo well known, and ſo much frequented; but then there was no chart to direct him, no lights from former navigators, no experience of the winds and currents particular to thoſe ſeas. He had no guide but his own genius, nor any thing to comfort and appeaſe his companions, diſcouraged and mutinous with the length and hopeleſſneſs of the voyage, but ſome indications which he drew from the caſual appearances of land birds and floating ſea-weeds, moſt of them little to be depended upon, but which this wiſe commander, well acquainted with the human heart, always knew how to turn to the beſt advantage. It was in this expedition that the variation of the compaſs was firſt obſerved; an appearance which has ever ſince puzzled all philoſophers, and which at this

this time made a great impreſſion upon Columbus's pilots; when in an unknown and boundleſs ocean, far from the road of former navigation, nature itſelf ſeemed altered, and the only guide they had left, appeared to be upon the point of forſaking them. But Columbus, with a wonderful quickneſs and ſagacity, pretended to diſcover a phyſical cauſe for this appearance, which tho' it did not ſatisfy himſelf, was plauſible enough to remove ſomething of the terrors of his mariners. Expedients of this kind were daily wanting, and the fertile genius of this diſcoverer invented them daily. However, by frequent uſe, they began to loſe their effect; the crew inſiſted on his returning, and grew loud and inſolent in their demand. Some even talked of throwing the admiral overboard. His invention, and almoſt his hopes were near exhauſted, when the only thing which could appeaſe them happened; the clear diſcovery of land, after a voyage of thirty-three days, the longeſt ever any man was known to be from ſight of ſhore before that time.

They landed on one of the iſlands now called Lucayos, or Bahamas, which is remarkable for nothing but this event; and here it was, that the two worlds, if I may uſe the expreſſion, were firſt introduced to one another; a meeting of an extraordinary nature, and which produced great changes in both. The

firſt

firſt thing Columbus did, after thanking God for the ſucceſs of his important voyage, was to take poſſeſſion of the iſland in the name of their Catholic majeſties, by ſetting up a croſs upon the ſhore; great multitudes of the inhabitants looking on, ignorant and unconcerned at a ceremony which was to deprive them of their natural liberty. The ſtay of the Spaniards in this Iſland was but ſhort; they found, from the extreme poverty of the people, that theſe were by no means the Indies, which they ſought for.

Columbus at his departure very prudently took with him ſome of the natives, that they might learn the Spaniſh tongue, and be his guides and interpreters in this new ſcene of affairs; nor were they unwilling to accompany him. He touched on ſeveral of the iſlands in the ſame cluſter, enquiring every where for gold, which was the only object of commerce he thought worth his care, becauſe the only thing that could give the court of Spain an high opinion of his diſcoveries. All directed him to a great iſland called Bohio, of which they ſpoke extraordinary things, and principally that it abounded in gold. They told him it lay to the Southward. To the Southward he ſteered his courſe, and found the Iſland, which he called Hiſpaniola, no ways inferior to the reports; commodious harbours, an agreeable climate, a good ſoil, and, what was of moſt conſequence, a country that

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promiſed from ſome ſamples a great abundance of gold; inhabited by an humane and hoſpitable people, in a ſtate of ſimplicity fit to be worked upon. Theſe circumſtances determined Columbus to make this iſland the center of his deſigns, to plant a colony there, and to eſtabliſh things in ſome permanent order before he proceeded to further diſcoveries. But to carry his deſigns of a ſettlement here, and his ſchemes of future diſcoveries into execution, it was neceſſary that he ſhould return to Spain and equip himſelf with a proper force. He had now collected a ſufficient quantity of gold to give credit to his voyage at court, and ſuch a number of curioſities of all kinds as might ſtrike the imaginations, and engage the attention of the people. Before he parted, he took care to ſecure the friendſhip of the principal king of the iſland by careſſes and preſents, and under pretence of leaving him a force ſufficient to aſſiſt him againſt his enemies, he laid the ground-work of a colony. He built a fort, and put a ſmall garriſon of Spaniards into it, with ſuch directions for their conduct as might have enſured their ſafety and the good offices of the inhabitants, if the men had not been of that kind, who are incapable of acting prudently either from their own or other people's wiſdom. He did every thing to gain the eſteem of the natives, by the juſtice, and even generoſity of his dealings,

ings, and the politeneſs and humanity with which he behaved upon every occaſion. He ſhewed them too, that tho' it was not in his will, it was not the leſs in his power to do them miſchief, if they acted ſo as to force him upon harſher meaſures. The ſurpriſing effects of his cannon, and the ſharpneſs of the Spaniſh ſwords, of which he made an innocent oſtentation, convinced them of this.

When the Spaniards firſt arrived in that country, they were taken for men come from heaven; and it was no wonder, conſidering the extreme novelty of their appearance, and the prodigious ſuperiority they had in every reſpect over a people in all the nakedneſs of uncultivated nature. Whatever therefore the Indians got from them, they valued in an high degree, not only as curious and uſeful, but even as things ſacred. The perſons of the Spaniards were reſpected in the ſame light. Columbus, who knew the value of opinion, did all he could to keep them in their error; and indeed no action of his, either of weakneſs or cruelty, could furniſh matter to undeceive them. For which reaſon, on his departure, he left the people with the beſt inclinations imaginable to nurſe his infant colony. And when he deſired ſome of the inhabitants to carry into Spain, he was more at a loſs whom he ſhould accept, than how he ſhould prevail upon them to go.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The diſcovery of the Caribbees. Columbus returns to Europe. His behaviour at Liſbon. His reception at Barcelona by Ferdinand and Iſabella. Second voyage of Columbus. The condition of the Spaniards in Hiſpaniola. The City of Iſabella built, and a Spaniſh colony ſettled. A voyage for better diſcovering the coaſt of Cuba.

ON his return homewards, ſtill attentive to his deſign, he aimed at ſuch diſcoveries as could be proſecuted without deviating conſiderably from his courſe. He touched upon ſeveral iſlands to the Southward, and diſcovered the Caribbees, of the barbarity of whoſe inhabitants he had heard terrible accounts in Hiſpaniola. He had before landed upon Cuba in his paſſage from the Bahamas. So that in this his firſt voyage, he gained a general knowledge of all the iſlands, which lie in ſuch an aſtoniſhing number in that great ſea which divides North and South America. But hitherto he neither knew nor ſuſpected any continent between him and China.

He returned to Europe after an abſence of above ſix months, and was driven by a great ſtorm into the harbour of Liſbon. This he did not look upon as a misfortune; ſince here, he

he had the ſatisfaction of convincing the Portugueſe demonſtratively of what an error they were guilty in rejecting his propoſals. It was now his turn to triumph. Thoſe who want ſagacity to diſcern the advantages of an offer, when it is made to themſelves, and treat it with the greateſt ſcorn, are always moſt ſtung with envy when they actually ſee theſe advantages in the hands of another. The Portugueſe had ſome time before this begun to make a figure: their ſhips had coaſted Africa for a greater length than any had done before them, which opened to them a profitable trade to Guinea. This gave them a reputation. They conſidered diſcovery as their proper province; and they were enraged to ſee that the Caſtilians were now let into the ſame path, in conſequence of an offer which they had rejected. Some propoſed to murder the admiral; but all were agreed to treat him in the moſt unworthy manner. However, their deſign of inſulting him gave Columbus an opportunity at once of gratifying his reſentment, maintaining his own dignity, and aſſerting the honour of the flag of Caſtile. He ſent to the king at his firſt entering the harbour, to deſire a liberty to come up to Liſbon and refreſh, as he had his maſter's orders not to avoid his ports; adding, that he was not from Guinea, but the Indies. An officer of the king of Portugal came aboard him with an armed force,

and ordered him to come aſhore, and give an account of himſelf to the king's officers. Columbus told him he had the honour of ſerving the king of Caſtile, and would own himſelf accountable to no other. The Portugueſe then deſired him to ſend the maſter of his ſhip; this he likewiſe refuſed, ſaying, that the admirals of Caſtile always choſe rather to die than deliver up themſelves, or even the meaneſt of their men; and if violence was intended, he was prepared to meet force with force. A ſpirited behaviour, in almoſt any circumſtance of ſtrength, is the moſt politic as well as the moſt honourable courſe; we preſerve a reſpect at leaſt by it, and with that we generally preſerve every thing; but when we loſe reſpect, every thing is loſt. We invite rather than ſuffer inſults, and the firſt is the only one we can reſiſt with prudence. Columbus found this; the officer did not purſue his demand; the admiral had all the refreſhments he wanted; and was even received at court with particular marks of diſtinction.

From Liſbon he proceeded to Seville; the court was then at Barcelona. But before he went to give an account of his voyage, he took all the care he could to provide for another. He wrote an abſtract of his proceedings, and ſent with it a memorial of all ſuch things, as were neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of a colony, and for further diſcoveries. Soon after he

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began his journey to Barcelona, every where followed by the admiration and applauſes of the people, who crouded to ſee him from all parts. He entered the city in a ſort of triumph. And certainly there never was a more innocent triumph, nor one that formed a more new and pleaſing ſpectacle. He had not deſtroyed, but diſcovered nations. The Americans he brought with him appeared in all the uncouth finery of their own country, wondered at by every body, and themſelves admiring every thing they ſaw. The ſeveral animals, many highly beautiful, and all ſtrangers to this part of the world, were ſo diſpoſed as to be ſeen without difficulty; the other curioſities of the new world were diſplayed in the moſt advantageous manner; the utenſils, the arms, and the ornaments of the people ſo remote from us in ſituation and manners; ſome valuable for the materials; even the rudeneſs of the workmanſhip in many made them but the more curious, when it was conſidered by whom, and with what inſtruments they were wrought. The gold was not forgot. The admiral himſelf cloſed the proceſſion. He was received by the king and queen with all imaginable marks of eſteem and regard, and they ordered a magnificent throne to be erected in public to do him the greater honour. A chair was prepared for him, in which he ſat, and gave, in preſence of the whole court, a full and circumſtantial ac-

count of all his diſcoveries, with that compoſedneſs and gravity, which is ſo extremely agreeable to the Spaniſh humour, and with the modeſty of a man who knows he has done things which do not need to be proclaimed by himſelf. The ſucceſsful merit of Columbus was underſtood by every body; and when the king and queen led the way, all the grandees and nobility of the court vied with each other in their civilities and careſſes.

Theſe honours did not ſatisfy Columbus. He prepared with all expedition for a ſecond voyage. The difficulties attending the firſt were all vaniſhed. The importance of the object appeared every day more clearly, and the court was willing to ſecond the vivacity of his deſires to the full. But before his departure there was one thing which they judged wanting to give them a clear and unqueſtionable right to the countries, which ſhould be diſcovered. This was a grant of them from the pope. The Portugueſe ſome time before had a grant of ſuch lands as they ſhould diſcover within certain latitudes; and this grant made a ſimilar one to the Spaniards appear the more neceſſary. The pope accordingly gave a very ample bull in their favour, very liberally conceding countries, of which he was ſo far from having any poſſeſſion, that he had no knowledge of them. The limits of this grant was a line drawn from pole to pole, an hundred

leagues

leagues to the weſtward of the Azores. On the other ſide no bounds at all were ſet. This was afterwards a ſubject of much controverſy between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, the latter having got a grant of all that ſhould be diſcovered to the Eaſt, as the former had of all to the Weſtward; thoſe who drew the bulls not having known enough of the figure of the earth to ſee, that theſe grants muſt neceſſarily claſh; and the powers which deſired them, were perhaps not ſorry to find their pretenſions ſuch as they might extend or contract at pleaſure.

Whatever the validity of this ample grant might be, Columbus was made governor with the higheſt authority over all that it contained. But he had ſomewhat with him more material for his poſſeſſion than any charters. This was a fleet of ſeventeen ſail of ſhips, with all manner of neceſſaries for ſettlement or conqueſt, and fifteen hundred men on board, ſome of them of the beſt families in Spain. With this fleet he ſet ſail on his ſecond voyage the 25th of September, 1493. He gave each of the captains inſtructions for their courſe ſealed, with orders not to open them, unleſs in diſtreſs, and ſeparated from the fleet, that he might create ſuch an abſolute dependence of all upon himſelf, as ſhould preſerve an uniformity in their deſigns. On the ſecond of November they made land, which is the iſland now called

Dominica. But his deſign was firſt to ſettle his colony before he attempted any new diſcovery, therefore he made no ſtay here, nor at ſeveral other iſlands at which he touched before he could make Hiſpaniola.

On his arrival he found the fort he had built utterly demoliſhed, and all his men killed. The Spaniards had firſt fallen out amongſt themſelves, upon the uſual ſubjects of ſtrife, women and gold; and afterwards preſerving as little harmony with the natives, and obſerving no decency in their behaviour, or juſtice in their dealings, they quickly loſt their eſteem, and were every man murdered, after having been diſperſed into different parts of the iſland. The prince, whom they were left to defend, was himſelf wounded in their defence, and bore this mark of his affection and good faith, when Columbus returned to the iſland. The admiral very wiſely forbore to make any nice enquiry into the affair, or to commence hoſtilities in revenge for the loſs of his ſoldiers; but he took the moſt effectual meaſures to prevent ſuch an evil for the future; he choſe a more commodious ſtation for his colony, on the North-eaſt part of the iſland, which had a good port, great conveniency of water, and a good ſoil, and lay near that where he was informed the richeſt mines of the country were found: in gratitude to his royal patroneſs, he called it Iſabella. He engaged

in the ſettlement with great warmth, and never allowed himſelf a moment's repoſe from ſuperintending the fortifications, the private houſes, and the works of agriculture; in all which the fatigue was infinite; for he had not only the natural difficulties attending all ſuch undertakings, but he had the inſuperable lazineſs of the Spaniards to contend with. So that, ſpent with the fatigues of ſo long a voyage, and the greater fatigues he had endured ſince he came on ſhore, he fell into a dangerous illneſs. Of this accident ſeveral of his men took the advantage to begin a rebellion, to undo all he had done, and to throw every thing into the moſt terrible confuſion. Theſe people, on their leaving Spain, had fancied to themſelves that gold was to be found every where in this country, and that there required nothing further to make ample eſtates, than to be tranſported into it; but finding their miſtake, and that, inſtead of receiving theſe golden ſhowers without any pains, they fared ill, laboured hard, and that their proſpects of a fortune, if any at all, were remote and uncertain, their diſcontent became general; and the mutinous diſpoſition increaſed ſo faſt, and was carried to ſuch extremities, that if the admiral had not recovered at a very critical time, and on his recovery had not acted in the moſt reſolute and effectual manner, all his hopes of a ſettlement in Hiſpaniola had been

at an end. He was ſatisfied with impriſoning ſome of the chiefs. This was neither a time nor a place for very extenſive or rigorous juſtice. He quelled this ſedition, but he ſaw at the ſame time that his work was not yet done; he ſaw another danger, againſt which he was to provide with equal diligence. He had good reaſons to apprehend, that the Americans were not well affected to their new gueſts, and might probably meditate to cut them off, whilſt they ſaw them divided amongſt themſelves. To prevent this, as well as to baniſh idleneſs from amongſt his men, and to revive military diſcipline, he marched into the heart of the country, through the moſt frequented parts of it, in order of battle, colours flying, and trumpets ſounding, with the flower of his troops, to the mountains of Cibao; where lay the richeſt mines then diſcovered in the iſland. Here he built a fort to ſecure this advantageous poſt, and overawe the country; and then he returned in the ſame pomp and order, to the inexpreſſible terror of the inhabitants, who had now no proſpect of withſtanding a force, which to them ſeemed more than human.

In this expedition Columbus made great oſtentation of his cavalry. This was the firſt time the Indians of America had ever ſeen horſes. Their dread of theſe animals and their riders were extreme; they thought both formed but one animal, and the impetuoſity of their charge

charge appeared irreſiſtible to theſe naked and ill-armed people. Wherever they appeared, thoſe Indians, who intended any hoſtility, immediately fled; nor did they think the intervention of the deepeſt and moſt rapid rivers any ſecurity; they believed that the horſes could fly, and that nothing was impoſſible to creatures ſo extraordinary. But Columbus did not rely upon theſe prejudices, though he made all imaginable uſe of them; knowing that thoſe things which appear moſt terrible at firſt, become every day leſs affecting by uſe, and that they even grow contemptible, when their real power is once well known. For which reaſon, he neglected none of his former methods of cultivating the affections of the natives; he ſtill ſhewed them all manner of reſpect, and when he had taken two perſons of their nation, who had committed ſome acts of hoſtility, and was at the point of putting them to death, he pardoned and ſet them free at the interceſſion of a prince of the country, with whom he was in alliance. On the other hand, he ſaw how neceſſary it was to preſerve a ſtrict diſcipline amongſt the Spaniards, to keep them from that idleneſs to which they had ſuch a propenſity, and which naturally retarded the growth of the colony, at the ſame time that it nouriſhed diſcontent and ſedition. He employed them in cutting roads through the country, a work which the natives never at-

tempted themſelves, nor now endeavoured to oppoſe, though it be one of the beſt inſtruments of enſlaving any barbarous people. This wiſe governor obſerved beſides, that the Spaniards conformed with great difficulty to the Indian manner of living, to which, however, they were neceſſitated, but from which, for want of uſe, they ſuffered great hardſhips. To remedy this evil, he daily ſent out ſmall parties upon expeditions into the country; from which he derived two material advantages. Firſt, he inured, by degrees, all his people to the manner of living in the country; and ſecondly, he taught them to know it perfectly, leſt a war ſhould find them unprovided in their only point in which the Indians were their ſuperiors, and a point which in a woody and mountainous country is certainly of the greateſt importance. All this he did without any material hazard to the ſum of his affairs. At home, he endeavoured to withdraw the Spaniards from their romantic hopes of miraculous treaſures, and to fix them to a rational and induſtrious courſe of life. He repreſented to them, that there was no real wealth but what aroſe from labour; and that a garden, a corn ground, and a mill, were riches more to their preſent purpoſe, than all the gold they were in expectation of meeting in the Indies. In ſhort, he laboured for the eſtabliſhment of this colony with as much aſſiduity, as though his

views had extended no further; at the ſame time that he meditated the greateſt diſcoveries, and conſidered thoſe things which had aſtoniſhed the world, only as the earneſt of his future performances.

I have before mentioned his having put in at Cuba. The country, from ſome ſpecimens, ſeemed a rich diſcovery; but whether it was an iſland, or a part of ſome great continent, he was altogether uncertain. Now that he had got his colony to take firm root in the Indies, he prepared with all expedition to aſcertain this point, and to puſh his diſcoveries to the utmoſt, in which he had ſucceeded hitherto ſo happily.

CHAP. III.

The difficulties attending the voyage. Jamaica diſcovered. Columbus returns to Hiſpaniola. The Spaniards rebel. A war with the Indians of that country. They are conquered. Their ſcheme for ſtarving the Spaniards.

THIS voyage was more remarkable for the hardſhips which the admiral and his men ſuffered, than for any conſiderable diſcoveries it produced. As he endeavoured to coaſt along the ſouthern ſhore of Cuba, he was entangled in a labyrinth of an innumerable multi-

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tude of iſlands, amongſt which he reckoned 160 in one day. They were moſt of them pleaſant and well inhabited, affording our navigator an agreeable meditation on this fertility of nature, where the world looked for nothing but a barren ocean. Theſe iſlands, Columbus, who had a grateful mind, in which the memory of his benefactreſs was always uppermoſt, called Jardin de la Reyna, or the queen's garden, in honour of queen Iſabella. But their number and fertility made little amends for the obſtruction they gave Columbus in the courſe of his navigation. The coaſt abſolutely unknown, among ſo many rocks, ſands, and ſhelves; the ſudden and violent ſtorms, the tornadoes, and the terrible thunder and lightning ſo conſtant between the tropics, obliged him to keep a continual watch, and held his mind upon a conſtant ſtretch; the voyage was extended to an unprofitable length by theſe difficulties; and being driven out to ſea, the worſt diſaſter of all befel them. Their proviſions fell ſhort. In this extremity they were obliged to come to a very narrow and bad allowance, in the diſtribution of which the admiral fared nothing better than the reſt. In this unremitted fatigue of body and of mind, in famine and in danger, his uſual firmneſs began nearly to forſake him; but it could go no further than to oblige him to remark in his journal, that no intereſt of his own ſhould

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ever oblige him to engage again in ſuch an enterpriſe. They were at laſt relieved by the appearance of Jamaica, where they were hoſpitably received, and ſupplied with Caſſava bread and water. From thence they proceeded, mortified and diſappointed, to Hiſpaniola, not being able to come to any certainty concerning Cuba, other than what they underſtood from ſome of the inhabitants that it was an iſland. This diſappointment, and the infinite fatigue and difficulty of the voyage, threw Columbus into a lethargy, which was near being fatal to him, and of which he was ſcarcely recovered when they arrived at the harbour of Iſabella.

Here they found all things in confuſion, and the colony in the utmoſt danger of being a ſecond time utterly deſtroyed; as if its proſperity or deſtruction depended upon the preſence or abſence of Columbus. For no ſooner was he ſailed, than the Spaniards, who were very difficultly retained in their duty by all his ſteadineſs and wiſdom, broke through all regulations, laughed at government and diſcipline, and ſpread themſelves over the iſland, committing a thouſand diſorders, and living at free quarter upon the inhabitants, whoſe hatred to them was worked up to ſuch a point, that they wanted only the word from their princes to fall on and maſſacre the whole colony; a thing by no means impracticable, in its preſent diſorder.

diſorder. Four of the principal ſovereigns of the iſland took advantage of this diſpoſition, and united to drive out thoſe imperious intruders. None adhered to them but one called Gunacagarry, the ſame prince whom Columbus from the firſt had taken ſo much pains to oblige. In his dominions ſome of the Spaniards found protection. The other princes had already commenced hoſtilities, and one of them killed ſixteen of the Spaniards, who were taking no uniform meaſures to oppoſe them; neither in their preſent anarchy could it be well expected.

In this condition was the iſland on the arrival of Columbus, whoſe firſt buſineſs was to collect the ſcattered fragments of the colony, and to form them into a body. This he was the better able to accompliſh, becauſe the preſent danger added a weight to his authority; but it was neceſſary that he ſhould loſe no time. He was reſolved to act with what force he had, rather than wait until the union of the iſlanders might be better cemented againſt him, and they might find ſome leſſer matters in their favour to raiſe their courage, and abate their terror of the Spaniſh arms. He therefore firſt marched againſt the king, who had killed the ſixteen Spaniards; as it was an enterpriſe coloured with an appearance of juſtice, and becauſe that prince happened to be the worſt prepared to receive him. He was eaſily ſubdued, and ſe-

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veral of his ſubjects ſent priſoners into Spain. The ſecond whom Columbus deſigned to attack being better prepared againſt force, he was reſolved to circumvent him by fraud, and got him into his power by a ſtratagem, which did no honour to his ſincerity, and rather ſhewed great weakneſs in this unfortunate barbarian, than any extraordinary contrivance in thoſe who deceived him.

The other princes were not terrified at theſe examples. Their hatred to the Spaniards increaſed; and perceiving that all depended upon a ſudden and vigorous exertion of their ſtrength, they brought an immenſe army, it is ſaid of one hundred thouſand men, into the field, which was arrayed in the largeſt plain in that country. Columbus, though he had but a ſmall force, did not ſcruple to go out to meet them. His army conſiſted but of two hundred foot, twenty horſe, and twenty wolf dogs. The latter part of this army has a ludicrous appearance; but it was a very ſerious matter amongſt a people no better provided with arms offenſive or defenſive than the Indians. Neither was it raſh in Columbus to venture an engagement againſt forces ſo vaſtly ſuperior in numbers; for when ſuch numbers are no better ſkilled or armed than theſe were, their multitude is in fact no juſt cauſe of dread but to themſelves. The event was anſwerable; the victory was deciſive for the Spaniards, in

which

which their horſes and dogs had a conſiderable ſhare; the loſs on the ſide of the Indians was very great. From that day forward they deſpaired, and relinquiſhed all thoughts of diſlodging the Spaniards by force. Columbus had but little difficulty in reducing the whole iſland, which now became a province of Spain, had a tribute impoſed, and forts built in ſeveral parts to enforce the levying of it, and to take away from this unhappy people all proſpect of liberty.

In this affecting ſituation they often aſked the Spaniards, when they intended to return to their own country. Small as the number of theſe ſtrangers was, the inhabitants were extremely burthened to ſubſiſt them. One Spaniard conſumed more than ten Indians; a circumſtance which ſhews how little this people had advanced in the art of cultivating the earth, or how lazy they were in doing it, ſince their indigence reduced them to ſuch an extreme frugality, that they found the Spaniards, who are ſome of the moſt abſtemious people upon earth, exceſſively voracious in the compariſon. Their experience of this, joined to their deſpair, put the Indians upon a project of ſtarving out their invaders. In purſuance of this ſcheme, they entirely abandoned the little agriculture which they practiſed, and unanimouſly retired into the moſt barren and impracticable parts of the iſland. This ill-ad-

viſed ſtratagem compleated their ruin. A number of people crouded into the worſt parts of the country, ſubſiſting only upon its ſpontaneous productions, were ſoon reduced to the moſt terrible famine. Its ſure attendant, epidemical ſickneſs, purſued at its heels; and this miſerable people, half famiſhed and leſſened a third of their numbers, were obliged to relinquiſh their ſcheme, to come down into the open country, and to ſubmit once more to bread and letters.

This conqueſt, and the ſubſequent ones made by the ſeveral European nations, with as little colour of right as conſciouſneſs of doing any thing wrong, gives one juſt reaſon to reflect on the notions entertained by mankind in all times concerning the right of dominion. At this period, few doubted of the power of the pope to convey a full right to any country he was pleaſed to chalk out; amongſt the faithful, becauſe they were ſubject to the church; and amongſt infidels, becauſe it was meritorious to make them ſubject to it. This notion began to loſe ground at the reformation, but another aroſe of as bad a tendency; the idea of the dominion of grace, which prevailed with ſeveral, and the effects of which we have felt amongſt ourſelves. The Mahometan great merit is to ſpread the empire and the faith; and none amongſt them doubt the legality of ſubduing any nation for theſe good purpoſes. The

Greeks

Greeks held, that the barbarians were naturally designed to be their slaves, and this was so general a notion, that Aristotle himself, with all his penetration, gave into it very seriously. In truth, it has its principle in human nature, for the generality of mankind very readily slide from what they conceive a fitness for government, to a right of governing; and they do not so readily agree, that those who are superior in endowments should only be equal in condition. These things partly palliate the guilt and horror of a conquest, undertaken with so little colour, over a people whose chief offence was their credulity, and their confidence in men who did not deserve it. But the circumstances of Columbus, the measures he was obliged to preserve with his court, and his humane and gentle treatment of this people, by which he mitigated the rigour of this conquest, take off much of the blame from him, as the necessity of taking up arms at all never arose from his conduct, or from his orders. On the contrary, his whole behaviour both to the Spaniards and Indians, the care he took to establish the one without injury to the other, and the constant bent of his policy to work every thing by gentle methods, may well be an example to all persons in the same situation.

Since I have digressed so far, it will be the more excusable to mention a circumstance recorded in the history of this settlement. Ame-

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rica was then, at leaſt theſe parts of it were, without almoſt any of thoſe animals by which we profit ſo greatly. It had neither horſes, nor oxen, nor ſheep, nor ſwine. Columbus brought eight ſows into America, and a ſmall number of horned cattle. This was the ſtock which ſupplied, about two hundred years ago, a country now the moſt abounding in theſe animals of any part of the known world; in which too it has been a buſineſs, for this century paſt, to hunt oxen merely for their hides. An example which ſhews how ſmall a number might originally have ſerved to produce all the animals upon earth, who commonly procreate very faſt to a certain point, and when they arrive at it, ſeem much at a ſtand.

CHAP. IV.

Complaints againſt Columbus. A perſon is ſent to enquire into his conduct. He returns to Spain. He is acquitted. He ſets out on his third voyage. He diſcovers the continent of South America. He ſails to Hiſpaniola.

WHILST Columbus was reducing this wealthy iſland to the obedience of the crown of Caſtile, and laying the foundations of the Spaniſh grandeur in America, his enemies were endeavouring with pains as indefatigable to ruin him in Spain. Some of the perſons

principally concerned in the late diſorders, fled to Spain before his return; and there, to juſtify their own conduct, and gratify their malice, they accuſed him of neglecting the colony, and of having deceived their majeſties and the adventurers with falſe hopes of gold, from a country which produced very little either of that metal or any thing elſe that was valuable. Theſe complaints were not without effect; and an officer, fitter by his character for a ſpy and informer than a redreſſer of grievances, was ſent to inſpect into his conduct; in which manner of proceeding there was certainly a policy as erroneous, as it was unjuſt and ungrateful. At that diſtance from the fountain of authority, with an enemy at the door, and a mutinous houſhold, a commander ought always to be truſted or removed. This man behaved in a brutiſh and inſolent manner, like all ſuch perſons, who, unconſcious of any merit of their own, are puffed up with any little portion of delegated power. Columbus found that he ſtaid here to no purpoſe under ſuch diſgraceful terms; and that his preſence at court was abſolutely neceſſary to his ſupport. He determined to return once more to Spain, convinced that a long abſence is mortal to one's intereſt at court, and that importunity and attendance often plead better than the moſt ſolid ſervices. However, before he departed, he exerted the little remains of authority he had

left, to ſettle every thing in ſuch a manner, as to prevent thoſe diſorders which hitherto he had always found the certain conſequence of his abſence. He built forts in all the material parts of the iſland, to retain the inhabitants in their ſubjection. He eſtabliſhed the civil government upon a better footing, and redoubled his diligence for the diſcovery of mines, which were to be the great agents in his affairs; nor did he altogether fail of ſucceſs.

It was the fate of this great man to have his virtue continually exerciſed with troubles and diſtreſſes. He continued his courſe to Spain in the latitude of 22, not having at that time diſcovered the advantageous method of running into the Northern latitudes to meet the South-weſt winds: they therefore made very little way; a ſcarcity enſued, in which they were reduced to ſix ounces of proviſion a day for each perſon. On theſe occaſions the admiral fared no better than the common ſailor; yet in this diſtreſs his hunger did not get the better of the tenderneſs and humanity which diſtinguiſhed his character. He refuſed to liſten to the preſſing inſtances of his crew, who were very earneſt in this diſtreſs to have the Indian priſoners thrown overboard to leſſen the conſumption of proviſions. In this voyage his ſkill was as remarkable as his magnanimity. He had nine experienced pilots in his fleet; yet none of them could tell where

they were, after having been a full month from the ſight of the firſt land. This length of time perſuaded them they muſt be very near Europe, and they were therefore for crouding ſail to make land as ſoon as poſſible. But Columbus, upon ſure obſervations, maintained they were but a little to the Weſtward of the Azores, and therefore ordered his ſails to be ſlackened for fear of land. His prediction was fulfilled, and the Azores relieved them next morning. This, added to a ſeries of predictions and noble diſcoveries, made his ſkill ſeem ſomething prophetic, and exalted his character in this reſpect above all the ſeamen before his time; and indeed, conſidering his opportunities of improvement, and what he did himſelf to improve his art, he will perhaps appear inferior to none who have ſucceeded him.

All the accuſations and prejudices againſt the admiral vaniſhed almoſt as ſoon as he appeared. He brought ſuch teſtimonies of his fidelity and good behaviour, as ſilenced all calumnies which aroſe on that head; and the large ſpecimens of gold and pearl he produced, refuted all that was ſaid on the poverty of the Indies. The court was fully convinced of the importance of the new colony, the merit of its governor, and the neceſſity of a ſpeedy ſupply. But the admiral's enemies were not idle, though they were ſilenced; they continued

tinued to throw all manner of obſtructions in his way; which was a thing not difficult in a country, where every thing is executed with much phlegm and languor, and where thoſe forms and mechanical methods of buſineſs, neceſſary perhaps in the common courſe of affairs, but ruinous in great deſigns, are more exactly obſerved, than any where elſe. It was therefore with great difficulty that he was able to procure any relief to be ſent to Hiſpaniola, but with much greater, and after a thouſand delays and diſappointments, that he was himſelf enabled to ſet out on a diſcovery of more importance than any of the former.

He deſigned to ſtand to the Southward from the Canaries, until he ſhould come under the equinoctial line, and then to proceed directly Weſtward, until Hiſpaniola ſhould bear to the North-weſt from him, to try what opening that might afford to India, or what new iſlands or what continent might reward his trouble. He therefore ſtood away to the Cape de Verd iſlands, and then South-weſt. In this navigation a thick fog, which intercepted the light of the ſun and ſtars, enveloped them for ſeveral days; and when this cleared off, the heats were grown ſo exceſſive, that the men could not venture between decks. The ſun being at this time nearly vertical, the heavy rains which fall at this ſeaſon between the tropics, without abating the heat, added

much to their diſtreſs. At laſt a ſmart gale ſprang up, and they went before it ſeventeen days to the Weſtward. The admiral, who could have no ſecond to ſupply his place, ſcarce allowed himſelf a moment's ſleep; but in this, as in all his voyages, had the whole burthen of every thing upon himſelf; this fatigue threw him into a fit of the gout; but neither the fatigue nor the diſorder could remove him from the deck, or make him abate of his uſual vigilance. His proviſions, however, being damaged by the heat, the wine caſks many of them burſt, and the wine being ſoured in thoſe that held, obliged him to alter the courſe he intended to keep Southward, and to decline ſome points to the Northweſt, hoping to fall in with ſome of the Caribbees, where he intended to refit and take in proviſions, to enable him to continue his diſcoveries. But he had not ſailed long, when from the round top a ſeaman ſaw land, which was an iſland on the coaſt of Guiana, now called Trinidad. Having paſſed this iſland and two others which lie in the mouth of the great river Oronoquo, he was ſurprized and endangered by a phænomenon he had never ſeen before. The river Oronoquo, at all times very great, at this time augmented tenfold by the rains we have juſt mentioned, ruſhing into the ocean with an immenſe and rapid flood, meets the tide; which riſes here to a great

height,

height, and comes in with much ſtrength; and both being pent up between the iſlands, and reverberated from one to another, cauſed a conflict extremely terrifying to thoſe who had not been accuſtomed to it, and were ignorant of the cauſe, as Columbus was at this time. But ſailing further he found plainly that he was in freſh water, and judging rightly that it was probable no iſland could ſupply ſo vaſt a river, he began to ſuſpect he had diſcovered the continent. But when he left the river, and found that land continued on to the Weſtward for a great way, he was convinced of it. Satisfied, in ſome meaſure, with this diſcovery, he yielded to the uneaſineſs and diſtreſſes of his crew, and bore away for Hiſpaniola, favoured by a fair wind and thoſe currents which ſet ſtrongly to the Weſtward all along the Northern coaſt of South America.

In the courſe of this diſcovery the admiral landed in ſeveral places, and traded with the inhabitants, amongſt whom he found gold and pearl in tolerable plenty. Contrary to the cuſtom of many navigators, who behave wherever they go as if they never intended to come there again, he every where uſed the natives with great civility, and gave them what they judged the full value of their commodities; little bells, bits of glaſs and of tin, with ſome trifling apparel, being exchanged for gold-duſt and pearls, and much to the

satisfaction of both parties, who thought they had each over-reached the other, and indeed with equal reason.

CHAP. V.

Columbus finds the Spaniards of Hiſpaniola in rebellion. His meaſures to ſuppreſs it. New complaints againſt him in Spain. He is ſuperſeded in the government, and ſent to Spain in irons.

HE arrived at Hiſpaniola the 19th of Auguſt, 1498, quite worn down with ſickneſs and continual watching, the neceſſity of which was rather increaſed than diminiſhed as he came nearer home, amongſt ſuch a multitude of iſlands and ſhoals as filled thoſe ſeas, at this time little known; add to this, that a current, ſetting ſtrongly Weſtward towards the continent, threatening every moment, without the greateſt attention, to carry him out of his courſe. So waſted was he with the fatigue, that his brother, whom he had left in his place, ſcarce knew him at his return. And he found that he was likely to have as little repoſe upon land as at ſea.

The admiral's authority had ſuffered ſome diminution, from the ill-judged ſtep of ſending a check upon his motions before he left Hiſpaniola; and the encouragement this gave to

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all ſorts of murmurings and complaints againſt government, ſowed the ſeeds of a rebellion, which ſprung up in the colony ſoon after he left it. But this rebellion was more dangerouſly formed than either of the former. For in the firſt place, the rebels had regularly appointed themſelves a chief, called Francis Roldan, a man whom the admiral had left in a conſiderable poſt: this gave it an uniformity and credit. And ſecondly, they gained the Indians to their party, by pretending to be their patrons, and the aſſertors of their liberty. Then, to eſtabliſh themſelves the more ſecurely, they made a ſeceſſion from the uncorrupted part of the colony, and ſettled in another part of the iſland, which formed an aſylum for all idle and ſeditious perſons, by whom they were continually reinforced.

In this threatening ſtate of things, the admiral having found his forces in no condition to act offenſively againſt the rebels, did what he could to break their force, and diſſolve that union which made them formidable. He began by publiſhing a free pardon for all that choſe to cancel their crimes by a timely ſubmiſſion. Obſerving beſides, that as many were very deſirous of returning to Spain, he gave them to underſtand they might go with the ſhips which brought the laſt ſuccours. He did not intend to perform this latter part immediately, but he knew that his offers would ſtag-

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ger ſome; and that, in affairs of this nature, it is every thing to gain time. He wrote to court a full account of his late diſcoveries, and ſent ſamples of the wealth they yielded. He took the ſame opportunity of deſcribing the diſtracted ſtate of the colony, deſiring that 50 or 60 men might be ſent by every ſhip, which he promiſed to replace by as many of the rebels. He propoſed this plan, leſt the Spaniſh power ſhould be weakened in thoſe parts, by diminiſhing their men, or kept in as dangerous a ſtate, by harbouring ſuch as were ill diſpoſed to the public good. He added very judiciouſly to his requeſt that ſome religious men and able lawyers might be ſent him, as the moſt effectual means of introducing and preſerving obedience and order. He then entered into negociations with the chiefs of the rebels; he granted them all they demanded, and even invidiouſly placed their principal commander, Roldan, in ſuch an office as flattered his pride, though without augmenting his power. Thus things were brought into ſomething of regularity, without any ſtruggling or violence; and Roldan himſelf, though in his former office of chief judge of the iſland, contributed moſt of all towards bringing thoſe who ſtood out to obedience. There aroſe a difference between them; and they flew again to arms; but on their firſt motion, Roldan, by virtue of his authority, ſeized,

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condemned, and executed ſeveral. By this the reſt were awed, all the connexion broke off irretrievably, between the head and body of the rebels, and all done without having any part of the offence, that might be given by this ſeverity, charged to the admiral.

He now began juſt to breathe in a little tranquillity, acquired by the ſevereſt labours, whilſt a new ſtorm was gathering againſt him from the quarter of the court. His old implacable enemies, uniting with ſome of the rebels who had lately tranſported themſelves into Spain, renewed the clamour againſt him. They heaped upon him all manner of calumnies; they accuſed him of a deſign of ſetting up for himſelf; and as they charged him in Hiſpaniola with cruelty and tyranny to the Indians, here they reverſed the charge, and accuſed him of a popularity amongſt that people, dangerous to his and their alliance. They added to theſe, what could not fail to work on national prejudices, that Columbus was a ſtranger, and had not a proper reſpect for the Spaniſh nobility. They complained that great debts were due to them; that all ways of recovering them were ſhut up. In ſhort, the king and queen never went abroad without being purſued and perſecuted, by the clamours of theſe pretended ſuitors of juſtice. Wearied out with ſuch complaints, they ſent a judge, with power to enquire into the admiral's conduct,

duct, and authorized, if he ſhould find the accuſations proved, to ſend him into Spain, and remain himſelf as governor in his room. They made it the judge's intereſt to condemn him.

The judge, who was extremely poor, and had no other call but his indigence to undertake the office, no ſooner landed in Hiſpaniola, than he took up his lodging in the admiral's houſe, for he was then abſent. He next proceeded to ſeize upon all his effects; and at laſt ſummoned him and his brothers to appear. In the mean time, he encouraged all manner of accuſations, without regarding the character of the accuſers, or the probability or conſiſtency of their accuſations. In conſequence of theſe, he apprehended the admiral and his brothers, and, with the laſt marks of inſult and indignity, loaded them with irons, and embarked them to be tranſported priſoners into Spain.

The captain of the veſſel, touched with reſpect for the years and great merit of Columbus, offered to take off the irons; but he did not permit it. "Since the king has com-
"manded, that I ſhould obey his governor,
"he ſhall find me as obedient to this, as I
"have been to all his other orders. Nothing
"but his commands ſhall releaſe me. If
"twelve years hardſhip and fatigue; if con-
"tinual dangers and frequent famine; if the

" ocean, first opened, and five times passed and
" repassed, to add a new world abounding
" with wealth to the Spanish monarchy;
" and if an infirm premature old age, brought
" on by those services, deserve these chains as
" a reward; it is very fit I should wear them
" to Spain, and keep them by me as memo-
" rials to the end of my life."

Great minds, though more apt to forgive injuries, perhaps, than common souls, do not easily lose the memory of the wrongs that are done them. Columbus afterwards carried these irons with him wherever he went; they hung constantly in his chamber, and he ordered them to be buried with him.

The new governor made a more effectual provision for the reward of his services; for, besides confiscating the greatest part of the admiral's effects, which he converted to his own use; to flatter the people, he permitted an unbounded liberty, by which he ruined the royal revenue, and was near ruining the colony too, past all reparation, if the court had not recalled him in time, and sent a person to succeed him of greater judgment and firmness, though of little more real virtue.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The diſcoveries of Americus Veſputius, and other adventurers. What cauſed the ſpirit of diſcovery.

ABOUT this time the ſpirit of diſcovery began to ſpread itſelf widely; and private adventurers, both in Spain and Portugal, ſtimulated by the gold which from time to time was remitted to Europe by Columbus, made equipments at their own expence. In one of theſe the famous Americus Veſputius commanded; he had got into his hands the charts of Columbus, in his laſt voyage, and he ſailed the ſame courſe. But as he was a man of addreſs and great confidence, and was beſides an able ſeaman and good geographer, he found a way of arrogating to himſelf the firſt diſcovery of the continent of America, and called it by his own name; which it has ever ſince retained, though nobody has any doubt concerning the real diſcoverer. For this, I believe, no other reaſon can be given, than that America is perhaps a better ſounding word than Columbia, and is more eaſily pronounced with the others, in enumerating the ſeveral diviſions of the earth; a trifling matter, and influenced by trifling cauſes. But the glory of Columbus ſtands upon foundations of another ſort.

Pinzon,

Pinzon, one who attended the admiral in his firſt voyage, equipped a ſquadron at his own expence; and was the firſt who croſſed the line at the ſide of America, and entered the great river Maranon, or the river of Amazons.

The Portugueſe, notwithſtanding the pope's excluſive grant, turned their thoughts to America, and diſcovered the Braſils, which make the moſt valuable part of their preſent poſſeſſions, when they have loſt what was conſidered as their original right, and which never was ſo advantageous to them.

What animated theſe adventurers, at the ſame time that it fixes a ſtain upon all their characters and deſigns, is that inſatiable thirſt of gold, which ever appeared uppermoſt in all their actions. This diſpoſition had been a thouſand times extremely prejudicial to their affairs; it was particularly the cauſe of all the confuſion and rebellions in Hiſpaniola: yet it is certain, that if it were not for this incentive, which kindled the ſpirit of diſcovery and colonization firſt in Spain and Portugal, and afterwards in all parts of Europe, America had never been in the ſtate it now is; nor would thoſe nations ever have had the beneficial colonies, which are now eſtabliſhed in every part of that country. It was neceſſary there ſhould be ſomething of an immediate and uncommon gain, fitted to ſtrike the imaginations of men forcibly,

forcibly, to tempt them to ſuch hazardous deſigns. A remote proſpect of commerce, and the improvement of manufactures, by extending of colonies, would never have anſwered the purpoſe; thoſe advantages come to be known only by reaſon and deduction, and are not conſequently of ſo ſtriking a nature. But to go out with a few baubles, and to return with a cargo of gold, is an object readily comprehended by any body, and was conſequently purſued with vigour by all. The ſpeculative knowledge of trade made no part of the ſtudy of the elevated or thinking part of mankind, at that time. Now, it may be juſtly reckoned amongſt the liberal ſciences; and it makes one of the moſt conſiderable branches of political knowledge. Commerce was then in the hands of a few, great in its profits, but confined in its nature. What we call the ballance of trade, was far from being well underſtood; all the laws relative to commerce were every where but ſo many clogs upon it. The impoſts and duties charged on goods, were laid on without diſtinction or judgment. Even amongſt ourſelves, the moſt trading and reaſoning people in Europe, right notions of theſe matters began late, and advanced ſlowly. Our colonies were ſettled without any view to thoſe great advantages which we draw from them. Virginia was conſtructed out of the wrecks of an armament

deſtined

deſtined on a golden adventure, which firſt tempted us to America. And thoſe who ſettled New England and Maryland, meant them only as aſylums from religious perſecution. So that if America had not promiſed ſuch an inundation of treaſure, it could only have ſupplied a languid commerce, which would have habituated the natives by degrees to our European manners, and ſupplied them with equal arms. Then it would have been next to impoſſible to have made thoſe extenſive ſettlements in that new world. So certain it is, that we often reap differently from what we have ſown; and that there muſt be ſome ſtrong active principle to give life and energy to all deſigns, or they will languiſh, let them be ever ſo wiſely concerted.

CHAP. VII.

Columbus again acquitted. Undertakes a fourth voyage. Diſcovers the coaſt of Terra Firma and the iſthmus of Darien. Returns to Hiſpaniola. His reception there. Purſues his diſcoveries to the coaſt of Terra Firma. He is driven to Jamaica, and ſhipwrecked on that iſland. His diſtreſſes there. The rebellion of his men, which he ſuppreſſes. He leaves the iſland and returns to Spain. His reception there. He dies.

NO ſooner was Columbus arrived in Spain, in this diſgraceful manner, than the court diſavowed and highly blamed the conduct of their governor. And now, according to the giddy cuſtom of men who act without plan or principle, they acquitted Columbus of all the charges againſt him, with as little enquiry into their validity, as they before uſed, when, upon the ſame charges, they unjuſtly condemned him. Reſtitution and reward were promiſed him, and he wanted very few incentives to engage once more in diſcoveries. His ambition was to arrive at the Eaſt-Indies, and ſo to ſurround the globe. This had really an influence upon his own mind, and he knew nothing could ſo much influence thoſe of the king and queen. On this proſpect

ſpect he was again fitted out with a fleet, promiſing to reduce both Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, under the dominion of their Catholic majeſties.

He embarked upon his fourth voyage in May 1502. His deſign was to ſtand directly for the coaſt of South-America, and keep along the Northern ſhore until he ſhould come to the place where he heard an obſcure account of ſome narrow ſtreight (whether a ſtreight or iſthmus was not ſo clear from the accounts he had;) and by this, if a ſtreight, he hoped to paſs into the great South-Sea. After ſo very long a voyage as this had been to America, and the diſcovery of a continent which was not that of India nor that of China, he ſaw clearly that the maps were no longer in the leaſt to be relied on; he therefore depended ſolely upon his own ideas. He reviewed the bearings of all the countries which his former experience or his late diſcoveries had opened to him; he conſidered the figure of the earth in general; he reaſoned upon the ballance and diſtribution of the land and water; and comparing all theſe he concluded that, beyond the continent he had diſcovered, was another ocean, probably as great or greater than that he had formerly paſſed; if this were ſo, then it was probable too that theſe oceans had ſome communication. He judged it to be near thoſe places ſince called Veragua and

Nombre de Dios; but not thinking his ships fit for that voyage, he propoſed to put into Hiſpaniola to refit, and to make ſome new diſpoſitions.

Columbus, whilſt he navigated and reſided in the Weſt-Indies, was extremely diligent in his obſervations upon the nature of the air, the ſeaſons, the meteors, rains and winds; and how each of theſe ſeemed to affect the others; nor was he leſs ſagacious in drawing prognoſtics from the remarkable appearances in all; at this time he judged from obſervations that a great hurricane was approaching. Before he entered the harbour, he notified his arrival to Obando the governor, with the nature of his deſign and the condition of his veſſels; deſiring at the ſame time that the fleet, which he underſtood to be on the point of ſetting ſail for Europe, ſhould in conſideration of the approaching hurricane defer their departure for ſome days. But it was his deſtiny that ingratitude ſhould purſue him every where, and perſecute him in every ſhape. For the governor, without any cauſe, not only refuſed to hearken to his advice about the ſailing of the ſhips, but abſolutely denied him permiſſion to enter into harbour, to ſave his life in that iſland which he himſelf had diſcovered and ſubdued. He had nothing to do but to draw up as cloſe to the ſhore as he could. The ſtorm came on the next night; but Providence,

dence, favouring his innocence and aſſiſting his capacity, brought him ſafe through it, though as terrible a ſtorm as had ever happened in thoſe ſeas. The fleet of twenty ſail, which againſt his advice had put to ſea, ſuffered the puniſhment due to their temerity. Only four eſcaped the ſtorm, ſixteen periſhed. Amongſt thoſe which were loſt, was the ſhip which carried back that governor to Spain, who had ſent Columbus thither in ſo oppreſſive and ſcandalous a manner; amongſt the four that were ſaved, was one that had on board ſome treaſure, all that could be reſcued from the pillage of the admiral's fortune. So that whilſt he was mortified at this ſhameful inſtance of human ingratitude, Heaven ſeemed to declare in his favour, and to condemn and puniſh it. His character was highly raiſed by the prediction of the ſtorm, and by his behaviour in it; for to his, and his brother's good conduct, the ſafety of his little fleet was juſtly attributed. His brother was a navigator and philoſopher, ſecond only to the admiral, very uſeful to his affairs, and a comfort and aſſiſtance in all his misfortunes, by his capacity and the goodneſs of his heart.

After he had weathered the ſtorm, he left this iſland, in which he had ſo ſurprizing an inſtance of ingratitude, in purſuit of more matter to employ it. In this voyage he diſ-

covered all the coaſt of Terra Firma to the iſthmus of Darien, where he hoped to have found a paſſage to the South-Sea. In this he was diſappointed, but he was not diſappointed in the other part of his project; for every where as he advanced, he became more ſenſible of the value of his diſcoveries on the continent. He found a people more civilized and more abounding in gold than the iſlanders. He entered a harbour which from its excellence he called Porto Bello, well known ſince as one of the greateſt openings by which the Spaniſh commerce is carried on between the two worlds. Here the admiral deſigned to eſtabliſh a colony, under the command of his brother, propoſing to return to Europe himſelf to obtain the requiſites for a compleat ſettlement. But the avarice and inſolence of his men raiſed the country upon him, and obliged him to relinquiſh his deſign, without having an opportunity of doing any thing more than ſhewing his judgment in the choice of the ſituation, and his own and brother's bravery in extricating their men from the calamities in which their folly had involved them.

Driven from hence, and finding his veſſels in ſo bad a condition that it was by no means adviſeable to proceed upon further diſcoveries, he quitted the continent, after having diſcovered the Eaſtern ſide of the iſthmus of Da-

rien, and the whole ſhore as far as Gracios a Dios in the gulph of Honduras. He then ſtood over to Hiſpaniola. His voyage was made under a thouſand difficulties of the ſevereſt kind; the veſſels ſo leaky, that the crew had not a moment's reſpite from the pump, and ſcarce any proviſion remaining to refreſh them after their labours. To compleat the ſum of their calamities a violent ſtorm aroſe, in which the ſhips fell foul of one another. But though he providentially weathered this ſtorm, it was now ſcarcely poſſible to keep his ſhip above water, and he was glad to make Jamaica, where he was a ſecond time relieved from the greateſt dangers and diſtreſſes.

But a diſtreſs of almoſt as bad a nature exerciſed his invention here. His ſhips were abſolutely unfit for ſervice, beyond all poſſibility of being repaired; no means of getting new; the inhabitants ſuſpicious, and the ill behaviour of his men gave daily occaſion to increaſe thoſe ſuſpicions. In this diſtreſs, he prevailed upon ſome of the hardieſt and moſt faithful of them to paſs over in a canoe to Hiſpaniola, to repreſent his calamitous ſituation to the governor, and to beg veſſels to carry them off.

Eight months did the admiral remain in this iſland, without the leaſt intelligence from his meſſengers, or aſſiſtance from the governor.

The natives grew exaſperated at the delay of the Spaniards and the weight of ſubſiſting them, which was a heavy burthen on the poverty of the Indians. Proviſions therefore came in very ſparingly. Things even threatened to grow much worſe; for the ſeamen, who are at beſt unruly, but think that all diſcipline ceaſes the moment they ſet foot on land, mutinied in great numbers. By this mutiny the admiral's authority and ſtrength was conſiderably weakened, whilſt the natives were exaſperated by the diſorders of the mutineers; but Columbus found means to recover his authority, at leaſt among the Indians. Knowing there would ſhortly be a viſible eclipſe of the moon, he ſummoned the principal perſons in the iſland; and by one who underſtood their language told them that the God whom he ſerved, and who created and preſerves all things in heaven and earth, provoked at their refuſing to ſupport his ſervants, intended a ſpeedy and ſevere judgment upon them, of which they ſhould ſhortly ſee manifeſt tokens in the heavens, for that the moon would, on the night he marked, appear of a bloody hue, an emblem of the deſtruction that was preparing for them. His prediction, which was ridiculed for the time, when it came to be accompliſhed ſtruck the barbarians with great terror. They brought him plenty of proviſions; they fell at his feet,

and

and beſought him in the moſt ſupplicating ſtile to deprecate the evils which threatened them. He took their proviſions, comforted them, and charged them to atone for their paſt ſin by their future generoſity.

He had a temporary relief by this ſtratagem, but he ſaw no proſpect of getting out of the iſland, and purſuing thoſe great purpoſes to which he had devoted his life. The mutiny of his men was in danger of growing general, when every thing ſeemed to be ſettled by the ſight of a ſhip in the harbour, ſent by Obando, the governor of Hiſpaniola. The governor reſolved not only to abandon, but to inſult this great man in his misfortunes. The captain of the veſſel was a mortal enemy to the admiral, and one of the perſons principally concerned in thoſe rebellions, which had formerly given him ſo much trouble. The deſign of this captain was only to be a witneſs of the diſtreſs of his affairs; for he came aſhore, forbidding his crew all manner of communication with the admiral or his men; and after delivering to Columbus an empty letter of compliment, embarked without even flattering him with the leaſt hope of relief.

Thus abandoned, his firmneſs and preſence of mind alone did not forſake him. The arrival of this ſhip for a moment reconciled his men to obedience; but when they ſaw it de-

part,

part, they were almoſt unanimouſly on the point of ſhaking off all authority, and abandoning themſelves to the moſt deſperate courſes. The admiral, without betraying the leaſt ſign of diſappointment or grief, told them in a chearful manner, that he had a promiſe of an immediate ſupply: that he did not depart in this ſhip, becauſe ſhe was too ſmall to carry off all the Spaniards who were with him; and that he was reſolved not to leave the iſland until every man of them might enjoy the ſame conveniency. The eaſy and compoſed air of the admiral himſelf, and the care he manifeſted for his people, ſuperior to his own preſervation, reconciled their minds, and made them attend their fate with patience. But he knew his delay might be very tedious in this iſland, and that as long as there remained a receptacle to which every ill humour among his men might gather, his affairs would grow worſe every day. He found thoſe that ſtill adhered to him, firmly attached to his cauſe; he therefore came to a reſolution of taking vigorous meaſures with the reſt. He ſent his brother, a ſenſible and reſolute man, with a proper force, and well armed, to treat with them; and in caſe of obſtinacy to compel them to obedience. They met, and the captain of the mutineers, grown inſolent with a long courſe of licentiouſneſs and rapine, not only rejected the admiral's

 propoſal,

propoſal, but offered violence to his brother; who uſing this as a ſignal to his men, prepared for ſuch an accident; they fell upon the rebels with ſo much reſolution, that ten lay dead in a moment with their chief; diſordered by the unexpected attack, the reſt fled, and ſoon after were obliged to ſubmit.

Thus the admiral pacified every thing with equal ſpirit and addreſs, ſometimes giving way to the ſtorm, and temporizing when he doubted his ſtrength; but when he was aſſured of it, always employing it with reſolution and effect; turning every incident, even the moſt unfavourable, to his advantage; and watching every change of nature, and every motion of the human mind, to employ them in his purpoſes. It is the principal thing which forms the character of a great man, to be rich in expedients; the uſe Columbus made of the eclipſe was truly ingenious. It may be ſaid, that ſuch a thing cannot be imitated amongſt a civilized people. I grant it. But the way to imitate great men is not to tread in their ſteps, but to walk in their manner. There is no people who have not ſome points of ignorance, weakneſs, or prejudice, which a penetrating mind may diſcover, and uſe as the moſt powerful inſtruments in the execution of his deſigns. Such a knowledge as this, is the only thing which gives one man a real ſuperiority over another; and he who uuderſtands the

paſſions

paſſions of men, and can entirely command his own, has the principal means of ſubduing them in his hands.

The admiral might have ſpent his whole life in this miſerable exile, if a private man, moved with eſteem for his merit, and compaſſion to his misfortunes, had not fitted out a ſhip for his relief. This brought him to Hiſpaniola. The governor, who refuſed to contribute any thing to his coming, when he came received him with that overacted complaiſance and ſhew of friendſhip, which ſo often ſucceeds the greateſt inſolence in baſe minds, and which they practice with ſo little ſhame and remorſe to the perſons they have before loaded with the greateſt injuries. The admiral bore this like every thing elſe; and, convinced that a diſpute with a governor in his own juriſdiction would bring him little advantage or honour, haſtened every thing for his departure to Spain, where he arrived after a voyage in which he was toſſed by moſt terrible ſtorms, and ſailed ſeven hundred leagues after he had loſt his main-maſt.

He was now grown old, and ſeverely afflicted with the gout. The queen his patroneſs was dead; and the king, of a cloſe and diſſembling diſpoſition, and a narrow mind, was the only perſon he had to ſooth his misfortunes, or pay the reward which was due to his labours. But he received neither

comfort nor reward. The performance of his contract was deferred upon frivolous pretences; and he employed the close of his life, as he had done the active part of it, in a court ſolicitation; the moſt grievous of all employments to any man, the moſt hopeleſs to an old man. Vanquiſhed at laſt by years, fatigues, and diſappointments, he died with thoſe ſentiments of piety, which ſupported him through the misfortunes of his life, and added a finiſhing, which nothing elſe could give to his greatneſs of mind, and all his other virtues.

CHAP. VIII.

The character of Columbus. Some reflections on the conduct of the court of Spain.

HEnceforward, in treating of the progreſs of the Spaniſh diſcoveries and arms, inſtead of deſigns laid in ſcience, and purſued with a benevolent heart and gentle meaſures; we are but too often to ſhew an enthuſiaſtic avarice, urging men forward to every act of cruelty and horror. The character of this firſt diſcoverer was extremely different from that of all with whom he dealt, and from that of moſt of thoſe who purſued his diſcoveries and conqueſts; ſome with a vigour and conduct equal, but all with

virtues,

virtues very much inferior. In his character hardly is any one of the components of a truly great man wanting. For to the ideas of the moſt penetrating philoſopher, and a ſcheme built upon them worthy of a great king, he joined a conſtancy and patience, which alone could carry it into execution, with the fortune of a private man. Continual ſtorms at ſea, continual rebellions of a turbulent people on ſhore, vexations, diſappointments, and cabals at court, were his lot all his life; and theſe were the only reward of ſervices, which no favours could have rewarded ſufficiently. His magnanimity was proof againſt all theſe, and his genius ſurmounted all the difficulties they threw in his way, except that of his payment, the point in which ſuch men ever meet with the worſt ſucceſs, and urge with the leaſt ability. That ſurprizing art, poſſeſſed by ſo few, of making every accident an inſtrument in his deſigns; his niece adjuſtment of his behaviour to his circumſtances, temporizing, or acting vigorouſly as the occaſion required, and never letting the occaſion itſelf paſs by him; the happy talent of concealing and governing his own paſſions, and managing thoſe of others; all theſe conſpire to give us the higheſt idea of his capacity. And as for his virtues, his diſintereſted behaviour, his immoveable fidelity to the ungrateful crown he ſerved, the juſt policy of his dealing with the Indians, his

caution

caution against giving them any offence, and his tender behaviour to them when conquered; which merited him the glorious title of their father, together with his zeal to have them instructed in the truths of religion, raise him to the elevated rank of those few men whom we ought to consider as examples to mankind, and ornaments to human nature.

I hope it will be forgiven me, if I add a remark upon the conduct of the court of Spain with regard to this great man. Though, as we saw all along, this conduct was equally unjust and impolitic, sorry I am, that no lesson of instruction can be drawn from the event, which was in all respects as fortunate, as the measures pursued were ungrateful and imprudent. But there was a coincidence of events at that time, which does not always happen so opportunely to justify an ungrateful and narrow policy. It is certain that some men are so possessed with their designs, that, when once engaged, nothing can discourage them in the pursuit. But great and frequent discouragements are examples to others, which will at least certainly have an effect, and will terrify men from forming such designs at all. Then the spirit of invention and enterprize dies away; then things begin to stagnate and to corrupt; for it is a rule as invariable in politics as it is in nature, that a want of proper motion does not breed rest and stability, but a motion

of

of another kind; a motion unſeen and inteſtine, which does not preſerve but deſtroy. The beſt form and ſettlement of a ſtate, and every regulation within it, obeys the ſame univerſal law; and the only way to prevent all things from going to decay, is by continually aiming to better them in ſome reſpect or other (ſince if they are not better, they will ſurely be worſe), and to afford an attentive ear to every project for this purpoſe. I am ſenſible that it muſt frequently happen, that many of theſe projects will be chimerical in themſelves, and offered by people of an appearance and manner not very prejudicing in their favour.

But then I am ſatisfied too, that theſe men muſt in the nature of things have ſomething odd and ſingular in their character, who expoſe themſelves, and deſert the common and certain roads of gain, in purſuit of advantages not certain to the public, and extremely doubtful to themſelves.

It is equally true, that, if ſuch people are encouraged, a number of viſionary ſchemes will be offered. But it is the character of pride and lazineſs to reject all offers, becauſe ſome are idle, as it is a weakneſs and credulity to liſten to all without diſtinction. But ſurely, if judgment is to have any ſhare in our conduct, it is the province of judgment to ſift, to examine, to diſtinguiſh the uſeful from the fooliſh, the feaſible from the impracti-

cable,

cable, and even in the midſt of the viſions of a fruitful and diſordered brain, to pick out matter which a wiſe man will know how to qualify and turn to uſe, though the inventor did not. Cromwell, partly from his circumſtances, but more from his genius and diſpoſition, received daily a number of propoſals of this kind, which always approached him in a fanatical dreſs, and were mixed frequently with matters the moſt remote from probability and good ſenſe; and we know that he made a ſignal uſe of many things of this kind.

Colbert ſpent much of his time in hearing every ſcheme for the extending of commerce, the improvement of manufactures, and the advancement of arts; ſpared no pains or expence to put them in execution, and bountifully rewarded and encouraged the authors of them. By theſe means France advanced during the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, and under this miniſter, more than it had done in many reigns before; and by theſe means, in the midſt of wars which brought that kingdom and all Europe to the brink of deſtruction, amidſt many defaults in the royal character and many errors in his government, a ſeed of induſtry and enterprize was ſown, which, on the firſt reſpite of the public calamities, and even while they oppreſſed that nation, roſe to produce that flouriſhing internal and external commerce and power, that diſtinguiſhes

France, and forms its ſtrength at this day, though a leſs active reign and miniſters of a different character have ſucceeded. On the contrary, it was always the character of the court of Spain to proceed very ſlowly, if at all, in any improvement; and to receive ſchemes for that purpoſe with coldneſs and diſdain. The effects upon the power of that monarchy were at laſt anſwerable. With regard to America, the conqueſt as well as the diſcovery was owing wholly to private men; the court contributed nothing but pretenſions and patents.

CHAP. IX.

The diſcoveries and conqueſts of Balboa. Velaſquez ſends Cortes on the Mexican expedition. The ſtate of the Mexican empire. Cortes makes an alliance with the Tlaſcalans.

AN ancient painter drew a ſatyrical picture of Cimon the Athenian. He repreſented this commander aſleep, and Fortune drawing a net over cities to put them into his poſſeſſion. There never were princes to whom this repreſentation could be applied with more juſtice, than to king Ferdinand and his ſucceſſor the emperor Charles. Without forming any plan in the cabinet, without iſſuing a penny out of their treaſury, without ſend-

ing a regiment from their troops, private adventurers amongſt their ſubjects put them into poſſeſſion of a greater, and a more wealthy territory, than ever the moſt celebrated conquerors had acquired by their valour, or their wiſdom. Nor was this conqueſt more extraordinary for the trivial means by which it was accompliſhed, than for the ſhortneſs of the time in which it was effected; for from the departure of Columbus, which was in the year 1492, to the entire reduction of Chili, which was in 1541, ſeven great kingdoms, inhabited by a vaſt number of warlike and wealthy nations, were made to bow under the Spaniſh yoke. After the diſcoveries of Columbus had enlarged the ſphere of induſtry to active minds, ſuch a ſpirit of enterprize went abroad, that not only thoſe perſons whoſe indigence might have driven them from their native country, but perſons of the firſt rank went over to ſettle in America. Gold was the ſpur to all thoſe adventurers, of whatever rank; and this, with a romantic ſpirit of chivalry, made the greateſt hazards appear but common matters in their eyes. And indeed in a country wholly uncivilized, under the burning zone, and in many places extremely unhealthy, the temperance of the Spaniards, their hardineſs under fatigue, and the patience and perſeverance which make the moſt ſhining part of their character, enabled them

to engage in enterprizes, and to ſurmount difficulties, to which any other people had certainly been unequal.

Vaſco Nunez de Balboa made a conſiderable figure amongſt theſe adventurers; he was a man of a graceful preſence, a liberal education, a hardy conſtitution, and that kind of popular bravery, which recommends a man who engages in deſperate expeditions, where he muſt have more authority from his perſon than his place. This man firſt ſurrounded Cuba, conquered, and left it. He did not there find the treaſures which he expected. He therefore relinquiſhed the gleanings of this field to thoſe who had a more moderate ambition, and a more ſaving induſtry. He ſought new ground, he followed the tracks of Columbus to Darien, gained the friendſhip of ſome of the Caziques, and conquered others. He was the firſt who diſcovered the South-Sea. He ſettled a colony upon that coaſt, and built the city of Panama. But according to the fate of all the firſt adventurers in this new world, indeed according to the fate of moſt who engage in new undertakings, he never lived to reap the fruit of his labours. He found himſelf ſuperſeded by one who had only diſcernment enough of his merit to raiſe his jealouſy and envy, and who could make no other uſe of the diſcoveries of this great man, than to increaſe his own private

private fortune. This man was a politician and a courtier, and having in ſeveral inſtances baſely injured Balboa, he was too wiſe to ſtop there, but under a pretended form of juſtice cut off his head, and confiſcated his eſtate.

Some time after the ſettlement of Cuba, Don James Velaſquez obtained the government; a man of good ſenſe in common affairs, but ſo much miſtaken, as to imagine he could act a great part by deputy; and that too in circumſtances, wherein a man who had but little capacity, could do him but little ſervice, and he that could do much, would certainly do it for himſelf. The continent of America was now very well known, and the fame of the greatneſs and wealth of the Mexican empire ſpread every where. This inſpired Velaſquez with a ſcheme of reducing ſome part of this opulent country under his obedience. He pitched upon Hernando Cortes to command in this expedition, in which he certainly made a very right judgment. There was no man amongſt the Spaniards, who to an adventurous diſpoſition, then common to them all, knew ſo well to join a cool and ſteady conduct, to gain love whilſt he preſerved reſpect; not to ſhift his ſchemes according to occaſions, but perſiſting uniformly in a well-judged deſign, to make every inferior action and event ſubſervient to it; to urge ſtill forward; to extricate

tricate himſelf out of difficulties into which he was brought by bold actions, not by mean ſubterfuges, but by actions yet bolder. This was the character of the man already in high reputation, whom Velaſquez choſe to conquer for him.

The embarkment was made at St. Jago de Cuba, and Cortes was to take in ſome reinforcements at the Havanna. But he was hardly departed, when Velaſquez grew jealous of him; and, without conſidering that Cortes was of that heroic diſpoſition in which a blind obedience is rarely a principal ingredient, he took the ill-judged ſtep of removing him from the command of an army, which in ſome ſort might be conſidered as his own, ſince he had much influence on the ſoldiers, and a conſiderable part of the expence of the armament had been ſupplied by himſelf. When this order, which was to deprive him of his command, arrived to Cortes, he was not long before he came to a reſolution. He explained the whole matter to his ſoldiers; he ſhewed them how uncertain the intentions of Velaſquez were, and how much all their hopes were like to be fruſtrated by the inconſtancy of his diſpoſition. The event was prepared. The ſoldiers declared to a man, that they were ſubjects only to the king of Spain, and knew no commander but Cortes. The army and the general,

general, thus bound to each other by their mutual diſobedience, ſailed for Mexico.

The empire of Mexico was at that time governed by a prince called Montezuma, the eleventh who reigned from the firſt monarch who had conquered the country. The empire was elective, and the merit of Montezuma had procured him the election. A prince of capacity and courage, but artful, hypocritical, and cruel. This empire, founded on conqueſt, was increaſed by his victories. By himſelf, or by his generals, he had abſolutely ſubdued ſeveral kingdoms and provinces; ſeveral were made tributary, and others, which were not abſolutely ſubdued, were influenced by his power to an entire obedience to his will. His armies were the beſt in that part of the world, and prodigiouſly numerous. In this ſituation, and ſo headed, was the empire of the Mexicans, when Cortes came to prove its ſtrength, with an army of no more than five hundred foot, and not quite ſixty horſe. He did not come a ſtranger into the country, to encounter a force which he dared to engage only becauſe he was ignorant of it. He had long made every poſſible enquiry from the Spaniards and Indians in every circumſtance of its internal weakneſs or power; its allies, its enemies, and the intereſts which determined them to be allies or enemies. Weighing all theſe, and knowing that, along with great hopes, great dangers like-

wiſe lay before him, he made his retreat yet more dangerous by diſobedience to the governor of Cuba; and when he landed on the continent, he made it impoſſible, for he burned his ſhips. But though he had made a retreat impoſſible, he had ſomething more to encourage him to go forward, than the impoſſibility of retiring. He had great hopes that many of thoſe ſtates, who were kept in a forced ſubjection or a ſlaviſh dread of Montezuma, would gladly turn this new and alarming appearance from themſelves againſt that monarch, and, under the banner of theſe formidable ſtrangers, arm themſelves to ſhake off the ancient tyranny, which always appears the worſt, without foreſeeing conſequences, to which more civilized nations have frequently been as blind as they. It happened according to his expectations.

The Zempoallans, a nation tributary to Montezuma, as ſoon as they had ſufficient proofs of the power of the Spaniards, at the expence of ſeveral of their neighbours, who attempted to oppoſe their progreſs, threw off the Mexican yoke, gladly put themſelves under the protection of Cortes, and earned it by the large reinforcements which they added to his army. Montezuma was ſoon made acquainted with theſe meaſures. For, according to the cuſtom of that well-regulated kingdom, he had poſts ſo ſtationed, that in a little time he had notice of whatever happened in the

remote parts of his empire. The diſpatches which were ſent him, were painted cloaths, exactly repreſenting every circumſtance of the buſineſs of which he was to be informed; the figures were interſperſed with characters to explain what muſt neceſſarily be wanting in the picture. So far, but no farther, had this people advanced in the art of writing. As well informed as the emperor was of every particular of this invaſion, and of the defection of his tributaries, he acted not at all conformably to the greatneſs of his former exploits. He took the worſt method which a great prince ever did upon ſuch an occaſion, which was, to temporize. He let the Spaniards ſee, by ſome trifling arts which he uſed to oppoſe them, that he did not look upon them as his friends, and at the ſame time neglected to act againſt them as ſo formidable an enemy required. They made daily advances in the country. His enemies were encouraged, his tributaries made inſolent, and his ſubjects and allies utterly diſpirited; whilſt the Spaniards, in a variety of engagements which they had with the petty princes of the country, raiſed their reputation by a train of victories, and began to be conſidered as invincible. Cortes, like the great commander he was, took advantage of this irreſolute diſpoſition in Montezuma, and uſed every poſſible means to cheriſh it. He always ſent back

what

what priſoners his new allies had taken, with preſents, and every profeſſion of eſteem and regard to their maſter, and with the ſtrongeſt aſſurance of a deſire of preſerving peace; requeſting to ſee Montezuma, and to confer with him upon ſome matters which he ſaid he had in charge to deliver to him from his maſter the emperor of the Romans.

There was at that time a celebrated republic on the coaſt of Mexico, towards the gulph, called Tlaſcala. This people were ſaid to be ſo powerful, as to be able to arm four hundred thouſand men. Powerful as they were, tho' not ſubdued, they were yet awed by the greatneſs of the Mexicans. This awe, or perhaps a better policy, induced them to give a check to the Spaniards. But, in the manner of Montezuma's proceedings, they would not oppoſe them publicly, and therefore could not oppoſe them effectually. Some nations, on whom they had prevailed to fall upon the Spaniards, were over and over again defeated, together with thoſe troops the Tlaſcalans had ſent clandeſtinely to their aſſiſtance. At laſt, by degrees, declaring themſelves more openly, as the danger preſſed them, they drew a large army into the field, which was routed by the troops of Cortes; few indeed in number, but infinitely ſuperior in arms, and now grown familiar with victory. The conſequence of this battle was the alliance of the Tlaſcalans with

their conqueror, which they entered into with the leſs difficulty, as they were to ſerve againſt the Mexicans, and might now hope to ſerve with ſucceſs. Cortes, however, did not chuſe to truſt this untried and forced alliance too far, nor at the ſame time to deprive himſelf entirely of the ſuccour it produced. He therefore took a middle courſe, and, accepting three thouſand of their men, he held on his route to Mexico.

CHAP. X.

Cortes builds La Vera Cruz. He marches to Mexico. His reception by Montezuma. Cortes impriſons Montezuma. That prince's ſtratagem to gain his liberty; the conſequence of it.

BEFORE Cortes began his expedition to Mexico, he had built a ſtrong fortreſs at the principal port on the coaſt, to open a paſſage for ſuccours, whenever his ſucceſs ſhould make intereſt enough to procure them. This he called La Vera Cruz, and it has ſince become a city, remarkable for the great traffic carried on between thoſe opulent countries, and Old Spain.

During the Tlaſcalan war, in which the Spaniards ſuffered ſomething, and had every thing to apprehend, Montezuma took no ſteps, but

but lay by, watching the event, in hopes that the Tlaſcalans might defeat the troops of Cortes at their own expence; or, if the Spaniards proved victorious, he might then have the merit of not having uſed hoſtilities againſt them. He loſt both parties by this double conduct; ſuch an inſidious neutrality betrays nothing but the weak policy of him who uſes it. However as a fair correſpondence ſtill ſubſiſted between them, he uſed every means he could to diſſuade Cortes from his propoſed journey to Mexico. At laſt he took a ſtep, worſe judged than all the bad ones he had hitherto taken. He ſent to the Spaniards a very large and magnificent preſent, of every thing his dominions afforded valuable, but principally a vaſt quantity of gold and precious ſtones; offering at the ſame time yet more, and perſuading them to return to their own country. If any perſon in the army was unwilling before this to proceed, he now changed his mind. All were convinced that they ought to advance with ſpeed to poſſeſs the fountain of that wealth, of which this rich donation was but an inconſiderable rivulet.

Montezuma, baffled in all his ſchemes to keep the Spaniards at a diſtance, having uſed himſelf to ſhifting meaſures until they were in a degree grown habitual, found Cortes at the gates of Mexico before he was reſolved how he ſhould receive him. It was now al-

moſt

moſt too late for force. He therefore diſſembled his concern with the beſt grace he could, and received him with all the honours a monarch can beſtow, when he would diſplay his own magnificence and ſhew his ſenſe of extraordinary merit. Cortes was lodged in a palace ſpacious and grand, after the manner of the country. All his Spaniards were lodged with him; but he took care to place a train of artillery at his gate.

Thus poſted without a blow in the heart of this great city, the capital of the new world, he was for a while at a loſs what meaſures to purſue, for ſecuring himſelf in a conqueſt of ſuch importance. Having received more than he could reaſonably have aſked, there was no cauſe of complaint, and conſequently no advantage to be colourably taken. He had only to wait for ſome of thoſe critical incidents, upon whoſe uſe all great matters depend, and without which the greateſt genius muſt be at a ſtand. It was not long before one of theſe occurred.

Two Tlaſcalans arrived in diſguiſe at Mexico, who brought him an account that a general of Montezuma had attacked ſome of his confederate Indians; that the garriſon of Vera Cruz had gone out to their defence; and that, though the Mexicans were repulſed with loſs, the Spaniards were greatly endangered, many wounded, and one killed, whoſe head,

head, by the order of Montezuma, was carried through all the cities and villages of their country, to deſtroy the reverence in which they held the Spaniards, and to undeceive them in a notion they had conceived, that theſe ſtrangers were immortal. This intelligence alarmed Cortes. He knew that opinion was one of the ſtrongeſt ſupporters of his little force; that things of this kind never ſtop at their beginnings; that Montezuma, while he careſſed him in his city, was disjoining his allies, and diſtreſſing his garriſon abroad; and that no time was to be loſt in dilatory counſels; that he muſt keep alive the memory of his former exploits. He therefore took a reſolution worthy of a brave man, in a difficulty made for his capacity. He armed himſelf in the beſt manner, and with five of the moſt faithful and beſt reſolved of his officers, went directly to the palace of Montezuma. Thirty of his men attended at ſome diſtance. Guards of Spaniards were placed at the principal avenues to the palace.

It was uſual for Montezuma's guards to withdraw, out of reſpect, when he had any conference with Cortes. On this occaſion, as ſoon as he was admitted to audience, he charged the emperor with the outrages committed by his orders, in terms of great reſentment. The emperor diſavows them. But

Cortes,

Cortes, after having paid him the compliment of not ſuppoſing him capable of ſo mean a diſſimulation, aſſured him, that he was himſelf entirely ſatisfied of his innocence; but that others had fears which were not eaſily removed: that, to ſatisfy the Spaniards, he muſt give ſome ſolid proof of his confidence in them; which he could effectually do no otherwiſe than by his removing without delay to their quarters. A requeſt of this nature ſtartled Montezuma, who never was uſed to any voice but that of the humbleſt ſubmiſſion. However, he ſaw plainly that Cortes did not make ſo extraordinary a requeſt but with a reſolution of making it be complied with. He ſaw the neceſſity, and he yielded to it.

Thus was the metropolis of a vaſt and powerful empire, inhabited by an innumerable multitude of warlike people, entered without reſiſtance by an handful of men, who came to overturn its liberty. And thus was one of the greateſt princes on earth, renowned for his wiſdom and valour, ſeized in his palace, in the midſt of his capital, at noonday, and carried priſoner, without noiſe or violence, by ſix perſons, to be diſpoſed of at their pleaſure.

The people, confounded and enraged to find one whom they always uſed to revere as a god, treated in this unworthy manner, ſurrounded

ſurrounded the quarters of the Spaniards to puniſh this ſacrilege, and reſcue their captive prince. But Cortes, who well underſtood the conſequence of the ſteps he had taken, was not alarmed. He knew that he had now in his hands an engine, which was capable of doing any thing. Montezuma went out to appeaſe the people, aſſured them that he was there of choice, and (which was true) that the Spaniards were wanting in no inſtance of reſpect due to his character and dignity.

This appeaſed and diſperſed the people. But Montezuma, whoſe unfortunate circumſtances obliged him to act as an inſtrument to his own captivity, could enjoy no reſt, though allowed the attendance of the principal officers of his court, and indulged by the Spaniards in every thing but his liberty. Long revolving, he at laſt contrived a ſcheme, which he judged, without his appearing to concur with them, might alarm his ſubjects with a ſenſe of their danger, or oblige the Spaniards to depart by the reaſonableneſs of his propoſals. He had always liberty of going abroad with a guard of Spaniards under pretence of doing him honour. He now deſired to hold a council of the ſtates of his empire, that in concurrence they might ſatisfy Cortes and his aſſociates in the ampleſt manner. This council was conve-

ned,

hed, in which Montezuma, in a premeditated ſpeech, ſet forth the origin of his nation; the prophecies extant among them, that a people of the ſame race ſhould arrive, to whom this empire ſhould be ſubject; that the people were now arrived who were the object of thoſe prophecies, and ſprung from this origin, to whom the gods had deſtined univerſal empire, and who, by their great accompliſhments and ſurprizing bravery, merited their high deſtination: then he ſolemnly declared himſelf tributary to the emperor of the Romans; he exhorted his people on their part to a due obedience; and ended by telling them, that, as he had himſelf prepared a preſent from his treaſures worthy of this emperor, he expected that every one of them, in proportion to his ability, would teſtify his loyalty to their new maſter, and his regard to the merit of his general and thoſe brave men that attended him, that they might be enabled to depart ſpeedily to their own country, with that opinion of their brethren the Mexicans, which their affection to them, and their obedience to their common maſter, deſerved.

At firſt a dead ſilence ſucceeded this harangue; the whole aſſembly were confounded and ſtruck dumb with grief, indignation and ſurpriſe. Then followed a mixed cry, as each perſon was affected by ſome particular part

of the general calamity. The luſtre of their empire was tarniſhed, their religion to be profaned, their freedom ſurrendered, their emperor degraded; what was worſe, degraded by himſelf; could they believe their ears? Was it Montezuma who had ſpoken in ſuch a manner?

The deſign of Montezuma was until this moment a ſecret to Cortes; he was ſurpriſed and ſomething chagrined at an artifice, the invention of which he now penetrated very clearly. But this ſurpriſe did not confound or perplex him in the part he ſaw it was proper for him to act. Without any embarraſſment, he ſeconded the harangue of Montezuma by a ſpeech, which was well interpreted, wherein he ſtrongly urged the propriety, and inſinuated the neceſſity, of an entire obedience to their prince and an imitation of his conduct. Diſordered as the aſſembly was, yet ſtill held by a ſacred reverence to their emperor, influenced by the hope of the ſudden departure of the Spaniards, and reſerving themſelves for a better occaſion, they followed Montezuma's example, and paid homage to Cortes, in that dumb and ſullen ſubmiſſion with which fierce ſpirits yield to neceſſity. He received it, and thanked them, as a man thanks his debtor for a ready payment.

Cortes ſaw that this empty homage ſecured him nothing; but he knew that the gold, which was to accompany it, would be of real ſervice in cancelling the ill impreſſions made by his diſobedience, in Spain. In Mexico he might look upon himſelf as ſecure; he had the perſon of the emperor in his hands; he had his forces in the capital; he had lately ſtruck a terror into all, by ſeizing the general, who had committed hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards. He got the emperor to diſavow his conduct, and condemn him as a traitor. By their joint authority, this unhappy man, guilty of nothing but obedience to his lawful maſter and zeal for his country, was burned alive in the public ſquare of Mexico. But neither this horrid example, nor the impriſonment of their emperor, nor the late acknowledgement of the emperor Charles, was ſufficient to make the Mexicans inſenſible to the diſgrace they ſuffered, nor of the danger which hung over them. They began to conſult how they might deliver themſelves. Some propoſed to cut off the communication with the continent, and hold the Spaniards beſieged in their quarters; for the city of Mexico is an iſland in a great lake, and communicates with the continent by four great cauſeways, extremely curious for contrivance and ſolidity. Whilſt they were ripening their ſchemes, a report came to Cortes, that

ſome words had dropt from a Mexican concerning the practicability of deſtroying one of theſe cauſeways. From this word (for he heard no more) this watchful and ſagacious commander judged of the whole contrivance. Without however taking notice of it publicly, he immediately orders two brigantines to be built to ſecure his retreat, if a retreat ſhould prove the wiſeſt meaſure. In the mean time he kept a ſtrict diſcipline in his army; and to preſerve reverence from the Indians, he prohibited their approaching his quarters when his men were aſleep, and ſeverely puniſhed thoſe of his ſoldiers who ſlept out of the times and places appointed for that purpoſe. All this while no preparations for his departure.

CHAP. XI.

The attempts of Montezuma to make the Spaniards leave Mexico. The arrival of Narvaez to take the command from Cortes. Cortes leaves Mexico. Defeats and takes Narvaez priſoner. The Spaniards in Mexico beſieged. Cortes raiſes the ſiege. Montezuma is killed.

MONTEZUMA, ſick with impatience of his confinement, and ſeeing that he daily loſt his authority amongſt the people by the puſillanimous appearance of his

conduct, as ſoon as he perceived that any ſpirited action on his ſide would be ſeconded with equal ſpirit by his ſubjects, rouſed his dormant magnanimity, and, in ſpite of the condition he was in, ſent for Cortes, and addreſſed him in this manner: "Cortes, the deſires of my ſubjects, my own dignity, and the commands of my gods, require that you ſhould depart my empire. You are ſenſible how much I valued your friendſhip, and how effectually I have ſhewn that I valued it. But, after ſo many profeſſions of good-will upon your ſide, and ſo many proofs of it upon mine, after every pretence of buſineſs is over, wherefore do you delay your return? I have yielded homage to your maſter, I am ready to obey him; I have ſent him preſents (or ſhall I call it a tribute?) worthy of myſelf and of him; your whole army is loaded, even to an inconvenience, with their darling gold. Would they have more? they ſhall have more. But then, when they ſhall have ſpoken their largeſt wiſhes, and ſatisfied their moſt eager deſires, I inſiſt upon it that they depart immediately; or they may find, in ſpite of the condition I am in, of which condition, for your ſake and for my own, I ſhall ſpeak but little, that Montezuma has yet courage enough to vindicate his honour, and friends in Mexico who will not fail to revenge the wrongs he ſhall ſuffer."

Cortes perceived ſomething of an unuſual reſolution and ſternneſs in the emperor's countenance whilſt he ſpoke. He therefore ſent orders, before the interpreter began to explain his ſpeech, that the Spaniards ſhould ſtand to their arms, and wait his commands. His anſwer was reſolute, but not ſuch as to drive the emperor to deſpair. He lamented the jealouſy which their common enemies had occaſioned; that, for his part, he was ſecured from all fear, by his own courage and the bravery of his own troops; but, ſince he was ſo unfortunate as to find he could not longer enjoy the honour of a converſation he had ſuch reaſon to eſteem, conſiſtently with the emperor's repoſe, he would depart as ſoon as ſhips could be built, for on landing he had been obliged to burn his own. This anſwer ſoothed Montezuma; he reſumed his good humour, he promiſed to load his army with gold at his departure, and gave immediate orders that every thing ſhould be prepared for fitting out the ſhips in the ſpeedieſt and ampleſt manner. But Cortes gave orders, which were full as well obeyed, to the perſon he appointed for the equipment, to delay it upon every poſſible pretence. He expected daily the return of the meſſengers he had ſent into Spain, to ſolicit his pardon and ſuccours, with the continuance of the command.

Whilſt

Whilſt he was entertained with theſe expectations, and with finding out pretences to defer his departure, an expreſs arrived from Sandoval, his governor at La Vera Cruz, informing him of the arrival of eighteen ſhips, in which was an army of eight hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, under the command of one Narvaez, who was ſent by his old enemy Velaſquez, the governor of Cuba, to ſuperſede him in the command, to treat him as a rebel, and ſend him in chains to Cuba. The governor ſeized the meſſengers, who were ſent by Narvaez to require him to ſurrender, and ſent them priſoners with this account to Cortes. There never was a time wherein the firmneſs and capacity of this commander in chief were put ſo ſtrongly to the proof. On one hand, here was an army in weapons and courage equal to his own, in numbers vaſtly ſuperior, and above all, ſtrengthened with the name of royal authority. The Mexicans, ill-affected before, would rejoice in this opportunity to fall upon him. On the other hand, muſt he reſign the conqueſts he had made with ſuch infinite toils and hazards into the hands of his mortal enemy, and in return to bear the name and receive the puniſhment of a traitor? There was little room to hope for an accommodation. The thoughts of a ſurrender was intolerable. One way only remained, to conquer Narvaez. His own

courage and conduct; his ſoldiers, habituated to victory; and endeared to him by common dangers and triumphs; his reputation, and the ſignal providence which always attended him, would combat upon his ſide. Above all, no time was to be loſt in fruitleſs counſels. He ſent an expreſs to Sandoval, his governor in La Vera Cruz, to evacuate that place, and join him in his route with what men he had. He aſſembled his forces, and found them to a man attached to his intereſts, and ready to hazard every thing in ſupport of them. He left eighty men in Mexico, picked from his troops, recommending them to Montezuma, and him to them. With this ſmall garriſon he dared to entruſt Mexico and all his vaſt hopes there; but the impriſoned emperor was himſelf a garriſon, from the reverence his ſubjects bore him. Before he ſet out, he releaſed the priſoners which Sandoval had ſent him, uſing the ſeverity of his officer to diſplay his own clemency. He careſſed them extremely, loaded them with preſents for themſelves and the principal officers of Narvaez's army, and did every thing to create himſelf a party there by his generoſity. He ſent at the ſame time very advantageous terms of accommodation to the general himſelf, but took care to follow and ſecond his ambaſſadors with all the power he could raiſe. This, with Sandoval's reinforcement, did not amount to

three

three hundred men; but with theſe, and ſome confederate Indians, he marched with all imaginable diligence to Narvaez's quarters.

Narvaez, elated with the ſuperiority of his army, would hearken to no terms, though he was much preſſed to it by his principal officers, who diſcovered plainly that this quarrel could only end in the ruin of their party, or that of the Spaniſh intereſt in Mexico. Mean time Cortes, little incumbered with baggage, and leſs with a dilatory genius, advanced by forced marches. He was but a ſmall diſtance from the enemy's quarters, when the rains came on, and, as uſual in that country, fell very heavily. Cortes, knowing that the ill diſpoſitions of the ſky were circumſtances favourable to a ſurprize, inviting to deſperate enterprizes, and that they are always leaſt prejudicial to thoſe in motion, having perfect intelligence of the diſpoſition of Narvaez's army, and having diſpoſed his troops in ſuch a manner as not to fall upon one another, and to act in concert, he ordered them, when they ſhould enter the town where the enemy was poſted, to keep in cloſe to the houſes, that they might not ſuffer by the artillery, which was ſo placed as to play upon the middle of the ſtreet. Having made this diſpoſition, he marched to attack the camp, on one of thoſe gloomy and tempeſtuous nights. Though he directed every thing with the utmoſt

moſt ſecrecy, Narvaez had intelligence of his approach, but he laughed at it; and, not underſtanding the nature of a prudent raſhneſs, could not believe that Cortes would make ſuch an attempt in ſuch a ſeaſon, but went to ſleep, without taking ſufficient care that it ſhould not be diſturbed. Security in the general is eaſily followed by that of every one elſe. Cortes aſſaulted the town in three bodies, and whilſt every one in the adverſe party ran in confuſion to his arms, and oppoſed without command or uniformity as each man was attacked, the whole army was routed. The quarters of Narvaez were attacked by Cortes's diviſion, and the men routed there as elſewhere. Narvaez himſelf, ſhamefully taken in bed, fell into his hands. "Value yourſelf, ſaid he, my lord Cortes, on your fortune in making me your priſoner;" But Cortes, with a ſmile of indignation, anſwered, "That he thought this by far the leaſt action he had performed, ſince he came into the new world."

When the morning came on, the diſperſed army of Narvaez began to form into bodies, and to diſcover the inconſiderable force which the night before had defeated them. Their firſt motion, diſtracted with ſhame and anger, was to fall upon the conquerors, and recover the honour they had loſt. But, when they found that their general was a priſoner, their artillery ſeized, and the advantageous poſt they

they had occupied in the enemy's poſſeſſion, and numbers amongſt themſelves well affected to Cortes, they liſtened at laſt to his propoſals, recommended as they were by the polite and inſinuating behaviour of which he was maſter, and that open and unbounded generoſity he ſhewed to every one. They all enliſted under his banner, and agreed to ſhare his fortune. Thus did this accident, which ſeemed to threaten inevitable deſtruction to the affairs of Cortes, prove the moſt effectual method of reſtoring them to an excellent condition, wholly by means of the wiſdom of his meaſures, and of that vigour and activity with which he purſued them. His army now conſiſted of above a thouſand men, after replacing his garriſon at La Vera Cruz, in which fortreſs he left Narvaez a priſoner.

This victory, and the reinforcement it procured, came at a moſt critical time; for hardly had he begun to adjuſt matters for his return to Mexico, when an expreſs arrived that his affairs there were in a moſt dangerous condition. Alvarado, whom he had left to command at his departure, though a brave and able man, had too great a contempt for the Indians, and too little a diſcernment for the nice circumſtances he was in, to manage with that juſt mixture of firmneſs and yielding, by which Cortes had hitherto ſo ballanced the hopes and fears of the Mexicans, that he ne-

ver gave them an entire opportunity of knowing their own ſtrength. This man, either diſcovering, or pretending at leaſt to diſcover, that ſome of the chief men in the city, who were met in the great temple, were aſſembled to conſult how to expel the Spaniards, ſuddenly ſurrounded the place, and murdered all the perſons of rank who compoſed the aſſembly.

This cruel and precipitate action fired the whole people. Enraged at what they had already ſuffered, and what they ſaw plainly they were yet to expect, their late ignominious patience, the fear of the Spaniſh arms, their inbred reſpect for Montezuma, were all loſt in their fury. Should they ſtay, until on various pretences they were all butchered? Montezuma, either forgetful of his office and dignity, or unable to exert it, could protect them no longer. Gods and men allowed them to defend themſelves, and arms were in their hands. The flame ſo furious in the capital, ſpread itſelf with equal ſwiftneſs and rage over all the country, and all were vowed and hearty for the deſtruction of the Spaniards. In this extremity, Alvarado ſhewed as much bravery as he had done imprudence in bringing it on. He redoubled his watch on the emperor; he obliged him to exert the remains of his authority in his favour, and, fortifying his quarters in the beſt manner the

time

time would admit, he ſtood out the ſtorm and repulſed the Mexicans in ſeveral attacks. But their fury, far from relenting at the frequent and bloody repulſes they met, redoubled by their loſſes. They exerciſed the beſieged, day and night, with the moſt vigorous aſſaults; and to cut off their retreat, found means to burn the brigantines which Cortes had built.

Cortes, who was obliged to make ſo rapid a march from Mexico, to defend himſelf againſt Narvaez, was compelled by an equal neceſſity to march from Zempoalla to Mexico, to relieve his forces and preſerve his moſt eſſential intereſts there. The Mexicans, like all people who have not reduced the art of war to ſome rule, ſuffered their eagerneſs in purſuing one advantage to let another material one lie neglected. For, whilſt they puſhed on the ſiege of the Spaniſh quarters with great vigour and diligence, they took no effectual care of the avenues to the city, or to cut off all ſuccours from the beſieged. Cortes entered the city without reſiſtance. He ſoon routed thoſe who inveſted the poſt of the Spaniards, and brought them a relief of which they ſtood in the greateſt need.

The arrival of ſo formidable a body of troops held the Mexicans ſome time in ſuſpence; but, in ſpite of the fatal error of admitting them into their city, which had now

inex-

inexcuſably been a ſecond time committed, and in ſpite of the ſucceſs every where attending the Spaniſh arms, they came to a reſolution of continuing hoſtilities. But things wore another face ſince the arrival of Cortes. No longer ſatisfied with defending his quarters, he ſallied out and defeated them ſeveral times with great ſlaughter. However, as he found that he ſuffered more by the leaſt loſſes than the Mexicans by the greateſt, he kept cloſe for ſome time, ſuffering the enemy to approach, in hopes of making one laſt effort, to appeaſe them by the authority of Montezuma. This unhappy prince, reduced to the ſad neceſſity of becoming the inſtrument of his own diſgrace, and of the ſlavery of his people, appeared on the battlements, and addreſſed his ſubjects with every argument he could uſe to prevail with them to diſperſe. But this expedient was not attended with the uſual ſucceſs. The Mexicans, by an habit of living without rule, had many of them loſt much of that reſpect, which, even to adoration, every one of them uſed to pay their prince; they anſwered him with reproaches; and a ſtone from an uncertain hand ſtruck him with great violence in the temple. The Spaniards carried him to his apartment. Here he refuſed to ſuffer any dreſſings to be applied to his wound, but, wrapping his head in his garment, gave himſelf up a prey to ſhame and

grief;

grief; and in a few days died, leſs of his wound, which was but inconſiderable, than of ſorrow and indignation, on feeling that he had ſo far loſt the eſteem and love of his ſubjects. There are other accounts of the death of Montezuma, but this appears the moſt probable.

Thus died this noble prince, more remarkable for the great virtues by which he aſcended the throne, and thoſe qualities by which he held it in ſo much luſtre for many years, than for his ſteadineſs and wiſdom in defending it when attacked by a formidable enemy. It has happened thus to many great men. When Lucullus and Pompey attacked Tigranes, king of Armenia, we do not ſee any thing in him of the conqueror of ſo many kings. Even his conqueror Pompey was not himſelf, after having enjoyed in glory for a long time a power acquired by the greateſt exploits. *Se eſſe magnum oblitus eſt.* It is natural whilſt we are raiſing ourſelves, and contending againſt difficulties, to have our minds, as it were, ſtrung, and our faculties intent and conſtantly awake. The neceſſity of our affairs obliges us to a continual exerciſe of whatever talents we poſſeſs; and we have hope to animate and urge us onward. But when we are come to the ſummit of our deſires, the mind ſuffers itſelf to relax. It is grievous to contend a-new for things, of which we have long looked

upon

upon ourſelves as ſecure. When we have no longer any thing to hope, we have then every thing to fear. Thus enervated by this proſperity, and diſcompoſed with this fear, we become ſtiff and irreſolute to action; we are willing to uſe any temporizing meaſures, rather than hazard on an adventure ſo much power and reputation. If Montezuma had made an early uſe of his power, he had ſtrength enough, after many loſſes, to have kept Cortes far enough from his capital; but, having once entered upon ſhifting and dilatory courſes, this brave and active enemy gave his affairs a mortal blow, by ſeizing his capital and his perſon. The reſt was all a conſequence, which no prudence could prevent, of a plan of conduct imprudent and ill laid originally.

CHAP. XII.

Guatimozin choſen emperor by the Mexicans. He beſieges the Spaniards in their quarters. Obliges Cortes to retire out of the city. Diſtreſſes him in his retreat. The battle of Otumba. Cortes retreats to Tlaſcala.

AS ſoon as the Mexicans were apprized of the death of their emperor, they ſet about the election of a ſucceſſor. They immediately caſt their eyes upon Guatimozin, nephew

nephew and ſon-in-law of Montezuma, a man fit to command at ſuch a time; of a perſon graceful, a body ſtrong and robuſt, and of a ſoul full of the moſt undaunted courage. Though no more than twenty-four years old, the reputation of his early exploits procured him the authority of age, and a penetrating genius ſerved him for experience. He was no ſooner called to this unſteady throne, than he took meaſures to prevent the Mexicans from their diſorderly and caſual attacks, and to make them act with deſign and uniformity. He examined thoroughly into the cauſe of their former miſcarriages; and conſidering every thing, he found that the Indians in their preſent condition, could never hope for any ſucceſs in open action; he reſolved therefore to ſpare his men as much as poſſible, until his own invention and time might teach them better methods of fighting. On theſe ideas he cauſed all aſſaults to ceaſe; then he cut off the cauſeways which joined the city to the continent, and at the ſame time ſtrongly barricaded the ſtreets, reſolving to ſtarve an enemy which ſeemed unconquerable by any other means; a meaſure which, though it has with us no extraordinary appearance, ſhewed no ſmall ſagacity in Guatimozin, becauſe it was what had never been before practiſed amongſt the military ſtratagems of this people, and invention is the characteriſtic of genius.

From henceforward the whole method of the war was changed, the Spaniards grew every day more and more ſtreightened for proviſions; and whenever they ſallied out, though they ſlew great numbers of their opponents, the many canals of the city, and barricado behind barricado, after ſome ſucceſsful progreſs, obliged them, vanquiſhed by mere wearineſs, to return without effect to their quarters. The Spaniards, invincible by the Indian arms, were not proof againſt famine. Cortes ſaw that nothing was left for his ſecurity, but as ſpeedy a retreat as poſſible; and though this muſt neceſſarily loſe them the moſt conſiderable part of the treaſure they had amaſſed, it was what leaſt afflicted him. He encouraged his troops, by chearfully relinquiſhing his own part, not to attempt burthening themſelves with a treaſure which they might conſider as lying at an advantageous intereſt, until they ſhould, as they certainly would, be enabled to return with a ſufficient force to reclaim it.

The reſolution of retreating being now taken, and all things diſpoſed for it, a queſtion aroſe, whether it were better made by day or in the night. On this the council of war was divided; and their reaſons ſeeming pretty equal, a perſon among them, a ſort of aſtrologer, who paſſed for a prophet, and as ſuch was much reſpected by the greater part of the army, promiſed them certain ſucceſs if they re-

treated by night. Certain it is, that when meaſures are dubious, ſuperſtitious determinations have great uſe; for as reaſon cannot eaſily determine the right way, that method which ſuperſtition fixes upon is, by the weight it has from thence, purſued with the greater chearfulneſs and effect.

The general was guided by the prophet, and he diſpoſed every thing for his retreat with great judgment. He cauſed the uſual fires to be lighted in every part of his quarters. Some of his boldeſt and moſt active men led the van. The priſoners, artillery, and heavy baggage were in the center. He himſelf, with one hundred of his choiceſt troops, formed the rear. With wonderful order and ſilence, and without any interruption, did the Spaniards march until they came to the firſt breach in the cauſeway. Here a portable wooden bridge, which Cortes had prepared, was laid over; but when the artillery and horſes had paſſed, it was wedged ſo cloſely into the ſtones that bordered the cauſeway, that it could not be removed, and there was yet another breach. But they were ſoon called from attending to this by a more preſſing danger; for, as nothing could elude the vigilance of the new emperor, he found out their intention of retreating, and diſpoſed all along the ſides of the cauſeway an infinite multitude of canoes, with orders to preſerve the greateſt ſi-

lence, and not to attempt any thing until a ſignal was given. The darkneſs of the night favoured the ſcheme. And now, perceiving that the Spaniards were under ſome embarraſſment, the Mexicans took this advantage, and all at once, with great order, poured in their arrows; raiſing at the ſame time a moſt tremendous ſhout, ſwelled with the barbarous ſound of all their martial inſtruments of muſic. The Spaniards were not wanting to themſelves, but behaved with ſignal bravery. It were needleſs, and almoſt impoſſible, to relate all the deſtruction of that horrid night. The Indians at firſt attacked in good order, but the firſt ranks being repulſed, and the diſtant canoes preſſing on to action, the whole attack was thrown into confuſion. The Indians drowned or ſlaughtered one another: however, they ſtill preſſed on with untameable fury. Thouſands, impatient of the delay their remote ſituation cauſed them, leapt from their canoes, and, climbing up the cauſeway in the front where it was interrupted, broke in upon the Spaniards, with a torrent hardly reſiſtible. In vain this naked multitude was hacked to pieces by the Spaniſh ſwords, in vain were they tumbled upon one another by hundreds into the lake; new warriors ſucceeded thoſe that were killed, and the Spaniards, actually wearied out, were in danger of being wholly cut off; when, making one

vigorous

vigorous effort in the front, they happily cleared that poſt, and by a beam which they caſually met, they paſſed over one by one; or as ſome ſay, filling the intervals with the dead bodies of their enemies, they gained the main land. Cortes came over with the firſt, for in the confuſion of the night, their former order was in a good meaſure loſt, and took care as faſt as his men got over to form them, in order to ſecure the paſſage for the reſt. Then returning to thoſe who were behind, by his preſence and example, he animated them to renew the fight, and drawing up a part of his men on both ſides of the cauſeway, he ordered the reſt to file off from the center. In this manner the firſt light ſaw the Spaniards clear out of the city. Cortes halted at a ſmall diſtance, that thoſe whom the confuſion and the night had diſperſed, might have an opportunity of rejoining the reſt of the army.

Happily they were not purſued; for as ſoon as the dawning light unveiled the field of battle to the Mexicans, the poſſeſſion of which they bought by ſuch a profuſion of their own blood, they perceived among the ſlain two ſons of Montezuma. Theſe were amongſt the priſoners, and were pierced by the arrows of the Mexicans in the promiſcuous and undiſtinguiſhed carnage of the preceding night. For ſome time they were con-

founded and ſtruck dumb with horror at this ſight; their ſentiments of loyalty returned; their monarch, almoſt their god, lately profaned by their own violence! now their hands imbrued in the blood of his children! A general deadneſs and conſternation enſued. They muſt not add to their impiety by neglecting the obſequies due to the deceaſed. In the mean time the Spaniards, favoured by this circumſtance, purſued their retreat without moleſtation. But this ſecurity laſted a ſhort time: all the allies of the Mexicans, already in arms and divided into ſeveral flying parties, hung over the army of Cortes, and harraſſed it without intermiſſion; they attacked him in front, in rear, in flank, by open force, by ambuſcade, by ſurprize. Proviſion grew extremely ſcarce on his march; and now it was that Cortes ſhewed a firmneſs under his loſſes, a vigilance againſt inceſſant attacks ſo various in time and manner, and a courage which enabled him to repulſe them, which have been exceeded by nothing in hiſtory.

The principal army of the Mexicans, whilſt he contended with ſuch difficulties from the flying parties, took another route, and pouring in three columns into a plain, where their number might be of moſt avail, they covered the whole of an extended valley, which lay directly in his road to Tlaſcala: this was called the

the valley of Otumba. They concealed their purpoſes with all imaginable care. To blind the Spaniards, they ordered ſeveral villages to give them a friendly reception. But Cortes did not ſuffer this to relax his vigilance, not allowing himſelf to be deceived by any appearances of friendſhip ſhewn by men, whoſe intereſt it was not to be his friends; convinced, as he was, that a ſurprize of all things was indeed very prejudicial to the affairs of a general, but that it was mortal to his reputation. He drew indications of their ſentiments towards him, from the manners, the geſtures, and the countenances of thoſe he treated with in his march; and, perceiving that many ſhewed unuſual ſigns of content and exultation, he judged, not without reaſon, that it could not be favourable to him. He therefore diſpoſed every thing in ſuch a manner as that his troops were neither diſordered, nor his courage abated, when from an eminence they diſcovered the extended plains of Otumba darkened as far as the eye could reach with the myriads of their enemies. The Spaniards, animated by their ſuperiority in arms and their former victories, and the Tlaſcalans, by the preſence of ſuch allies and their hatred of the Mexican name, behaved with great bravery and ſucceſs; neither were the Mexicans inferior in animoſity and courage. But it was Cortes himſelf who determined the

fortune of the day. Nothing he ever heard was either forgot, or ſuffered to be an uſeleſs burthen upon his memory. He remembered to have heard from the Mexicans, that the fortune of the field with them ever followed that of the royal ſtandard. This was a net of gold, elevated on a gilded ſtaff, and ſplendid with plumes of a thouſand colours. Great exigencies alone brought it into the field, and it was entruſted to none but the care of the general, who ſat on a chair ſumptuouſly adorned, and ſupported on men's ſhoulders in the center of the armies, to view the whole battle, to be a witneſs of the behaviour of all his troops, and to give orders as the occaſion required. Cortes, pretending to make his principal effort in a quarter remote from the ſtandard, employed all his foot in that ſervice; but, heading the horſe himſelf with ſome of his braveſt officers, informing them of his deſign, and animating them with the hopes of a ſpeedy deciſion, he flung himſelf with fury againſt the part that ſeemed leaſt diſtant from the center. After diſperſing and overturning whole battalions, they penetrated to the choſen body of nobles, who guarded the general and ſtandard. Here the reſiſtance was greater, but it was ſoon overcome, and Cortes's own lance met the general, who was overthrown, and the ſtandard taken. All the other ſtandards were ſtruck directly, and the

Mexicans

Mexicans fled every way which their fear and confuſion hurried them. They loſt twenty thouſand men in this battle, and a ſpoil infinite. This victory gave Cortes an undiſturbed paſſage to Tlaſcala, and a welcome reception amongſt his allies there.

CHAP. XIII.

Spaniards ſent againſt Cortes join him. He marches again to Mexico. A conſpiracy againſt his life baffled.

LET us now turn our eyes to Mexico. No ſooner were the Spaniards departed, than Guatimozin ordered the city to be fortified in ſuch a manner as to ſecure himſelf againſt their entrance a third time. He found that a thouſand Tlaſcalans were killed in this retreat, upwards of two hundred Spaniards (the greateſt loſs they had yet in America,) and a great number of horſes. He cut off the heads of the Spaniards, and of their horſes, no leſs dreaded, and ſent them to all the neighbouring nations, as an infallible token of his victory; as a ſure proof that he was reſolved to keep no meaſures with the enemy, and to ſtir them up to their utter deſtruction. He ſucceeded ſo well, that numberleſs petty nations, well inclined to the Spaniards, fell off, and

and many that were wavering were confirmed in the Mexican intereſt. By this means ſeveral adventurers, that from the fame of Cortes had landed to join him, were cut to pieces before they gained his army. But the negotiation to which Guatimozin bent all his force, was that with Tlaſcala, becauſe this was Cortes's chief ſtrength. He ſent large preſents, and ambaſſadors of ability, with excellent inſtructions, to detach them from the Spaniſh intereſt; who executed their commiſſion ſo well, that they cauſed a great diviſion in their favour in the councils of that republic. But Cortes, making his military exploits ſubſervient to his negotiations, and his ſkill in negotiation aſſiſtant to his exploits, baffled them at length with great addreſs, but not without great difficulty; and the Tlaſcalans were confirmed in his friendſhip.

Whilſt a general has an obedient and well united army, he has an engine in proper order to work in his deſigns, and he can then execute them with eaſe; but the greateſt trial of his capacity is to defend himſelf againſt a foreign enemy, and wreſtle with a domeſtic ſedition at the ſame time. The ſoldiers of Narvaez, ſince Cortes's return from Mexico, where they were obliged to leave ſo conſiderable a part of their booty, now hopeleſs of the expedition, began to mutiny, and demanded to be ſent home directly to Cuba; nor were his other

troops

troops free from ſome part of the infection. Whatever could be done by preſerving them in action, without too great a fatigue; whatever a ſeaſonable yielding, without forfeiting authority; in ſhort, whatever an able commander could do in ſuch circumſtances; was done by Cortes, without any other effect than that of palliating the diſeaſe; the indiſpoſition ſtill continued.

Whilſt he ſtruggled with theſe difficulties, which nearly overpowered him, his old enemy, James Velaſquez, looking on the ſucceſs of Narvaez's expedition as a thing certain, ſent a ſhip to get intelligence of his proceedings, and about thirty men to reinforce him. The perſon who commanded at the port for Cortes, no ſooner ſaw the ſhip in the offing than he went on board her; and, upon the captain's enquiry after Narvaez, he aſſured him he was well, and as ſucceſsful as he could wiſh. Not doubting this, the captain and his men landed, and were immediately made priſoners. Finding how affairs were really circumſtanced, they admired the conqueror, commended the ſtratagem, and chearfully joined the army.

Much about the ſame time the governor of Jamaica, and he too a determined enemy of Cortes, ſent three ſhips with a ſmall body of troops, in hopes of tearing from him ſome part of his conqueſts. Theſe ſhips were diſperſed

perſed in a ſtorm, and were involved in many difficulties; but, what is ſingular, they all, though ſeparated, came to one and the ſame reſolution, which was, to revolt from the commander and join Cortes the moment they came on ſhore: ſo that the enemies of Cortes now no leſs than three times relieved him, by the very methods which they took to diſtreſs his affairs. Theſe advantages, though improved to the utmoſt by Cortes, were certainly not at all the reſult of his contrivance. There is a ſpecies of a ſplendid good fortune neceſſary to form an hero, to give a luſtre to his wiſdom and courage, and to create that confidence and ſuperiority in him that nothing elſe can give, but which always makes a principal part of an heroic character. Without this, it is impoſſible for any man, however qualified, to emerge. Cortes was not only fortunate, by being freed from the moſt terrible embarraſſments by the arrival of theſe ſuccours, which were never intended as ſuch; but much about the ſame time ſhips arrived from Spain, bringing, on the account of ſome private perſons, a reinforcement of men and military ſtores; and from the court an authentic approbation of his conduct, and a confirmation of his command.

Fortified with theſe, he yielded to the mutinous importunities of ſuch of his ſoldiers as were earneſt to depart; and, though he diminiſhed

niſhed his numbers conſiderably by this ſtep, he judged it better to have a well-diſciplined army than a great one, and knew that little could be expected from men who were dragged unwillingly to action; at the ſame time that their cowardice or ſedition would infect the reſt. After the departure of the mutineers, he found he had ſtill above nine hundred Spaniſh foot, eighty-ſix horſe, and eighteen pieces of cannon. With theſe, and with the aſſiſtance of a vaſt body of Tlaſcalans, and allies of various nations, whom admiration and fear of Cortes or hatred to the Mexicans had brought under his banner, he once more prepared to attack Mexico, which was the grand object of his undertakings. The city was ſo advantageouſly ſituated, and he knew at this time ſo well fortified, that nothing could be done without a force on the lake. To cut off their ſupplies, he ordered the materials of twelve brigantines to be got ready, in ſuch a manner as only to need being put together when they ſhould arrive at Mexico. Theſe were carried upon the ſhoulders of his Indian allies. His route to Mexico cannot be ſo much conſidered in the light of a march, as a continued train of ambuſcades and battles, ſome of which were fought with the moſt numerous armies, and with circumſtances not ſuited to the brevity of my purpoſe to relate. In all theſe he was ſucceſsful, though his enemies may be

ſaid, with little exaggeration, to have diſputed with him every foot of ground between Tlaſcala and Mexico.

At laſt that city ſhewed itſelf, riſing from the midſt of a noble lake, ſurrounded with a number of moſt populous cities, as her attendants upon every ſide, and all ſubject to her power. The Spaniards, looking on this as their goal, revived their courage and forgot the difficulties of their march; and the Tlaſcalans, in perfect fury of military delight, wanted the ſteady hand of Cortes to reſtrain a courage, which he commended and kept alive by his example and words, whilſt he moderated its ardor. Before he began the attack of Mexico, he ſpent ſome time in reducing all the neighbouring cities from which it might derive any ſuccour. He cut off the aqueducts which ſupplied Mexico with water, that of the lake being brackiſh; and he got ready his brigantines with all imaginable diligence, to cut off all relief from that quarter.

Whilſt his attention was wholly employed in the proſecution of the war, an old Spaniard, who had long ſerved, diſcovered to him a conſpiracy of the moſt dangerous nature. Antonio de Vileſana, a private ſoldier, but a man bold and deſperate in any bad purpoſe, and ſubtle in contriving it, had formed a conſpiracy with ſeveral others to kill Cortes and the principal perſons upon whom he relied, and then to

return

return to Vera Cruz, from whence they might eaſily paſs to Cuba, and ſecure their pardon by the merit they ſhould make of this action with James Velaſquez. They were urged to this reſolution by the fatigue of thoſe innumerable dangers and difficulties they had paſſed, and by the deſpair of overcoming thoſe which yet lay before them; without conſidering that by this wicked action, they muſt rather produce new difficulties than overcome the old. Others of more conſequence were drawn in; and the conſpiracy had been ſo far formed, that the time and manner of killing the general was ſettled, and the perſon fixed, upon whom they intended to devolve the command.

When Cortes was appriſed of this conſpiracy, without any hurry which might give notice that he had diſcovered it, yet, without loſing a moment to take advantage of the diſcovery, with four or five of his principal captains, he went directly to the quarters of Vileſana, who, aſtoniſhed at ſeeing him, made half his confeſſion by the fear he diſcovered. Cortes had him thrown immediately into irons; and then, ordering every body to retire, he examined himſelf into all the particulars of the affair, and the names of the perſons concerned. Vileſana made a full confeſſion, and ended it by producing a paper in vindication of their proceeding, which had been ſigned with

with the names of all the conſpirators. Cortes was not a little ſurprized to ſee amongſt them, the names of perſons upon whom he had great reliance. However, he diſſembled his concern, and ordered Vileſana to be immediately executed. He was ſhewn to all the army hanging by his tent door. Cortes informed none of the friends he moſt truſted with the paper he had received; but ſummoning the army, he gave them an account of the horrid conſpiracy that had been formed againſt his life; that he had puniſhed the perſon principally concerned; but that it was with ſatisfaction he was left ignorant of his accomplices, by the care the criminal took in deſtroying a paper, which he believed might have made great diſcoveries. For his part, as he had puniſhed, and was reſolved ſeverely to puniſh, any flagitious attempt againſt his life or authority, ſo he was determined to order both in ſuch a manner as to give juſt cauſe of complaint to no man; and if by any accident he had done ſo, he was ready to give him all reaſonable ſatisfaction. Proceeding thus, Cortes had the advantage of knowing who they were that wiſhed him ill; at the ſame time that they remained unappriſed of the diſcovery he had made, and endeavoured to prevent it by a more diligent performance of their duty: he now appointed a guard upon his perſon.

Hardly

Hardly had Cortes ſuppreſſed this conſpiracy, and made the proper uſe of a baffled attempt, againſt his authority, which was to ſtrengthen and increaſe it, than a difficulty of ſomething of a ſimilar nature engaged him, and from which he extricated himſelf with the ſame courage and prudence. The general of the Tlaſcalans, envying his glory, and perhaps fearful of the conſequence of the entire deſtruction of the Mexicans, though enemies to his own country, perſuaded a conſiderable body of the people to quit the Spaniſh camp. Cortes immediately ordered him to be purſued. This general had formerly been an enemy to Cortes, and oppoſed him in the council of his nation; but when he ſaw the general current in his favour, he made a timely change, and came entirely into his intereſts. He had now relapſed, and was therefore not to be truſted any more. Cortes gave orders to thoſe who purſued him to put him to death. The Tlaſcalans who revolted were eaſily prevailed upon to return; and ſo dexterouſly did Cortes repreſent this affair, that neither the Tlaſcalans in his army, nor the republic, nor even the father himſelf of the general, condemned him for what he had done.

CHAP. XIV.

The ſiege of Mexico. Terms of accommodation refuſed by the Mexicans. The Spaniards repulſed by a ſtratagem of Guatimozin. A new ſtratagem of Guatimozin. He is taken. The city ſurrenders. Guatimozin tortured. Cortes ſuperſeded in his government. Reflections on the Spaniſh cruelties.

THESE internal diſorders being compoſed, he turned his fortitude and wiſdom againſt his open enemies. Three principal cauſeways led to the city, which three towns or ſuburbs defended upon the ſide of the continent. Within were trenches and barricadoes one behind another the whole length of the way. Cortes ordered three attacks upon theſe towns, and the cauſeways which they defended. The brigantines acted upon the water. Through the whole length of the ſiege, the bravery of the Mexicans, in defence of every thing which was dear to them, was not more remarkable than the ingenuity by which they baffled the attacks of the Spaniards, and attacked them in their turn. On land, on water, by open force, by ſtratagem, by every method, they plied each other inceſſantly day and night. But the Spaniards, invincible under the command of Cortes, had the

the advantage ſo far, that with infinite ſlaughter they gained theſe poſts which ſecured the cauſeways upon the ſide of the country, at the ſame time that they cleared the lake ſo, that a canoe of the enemy did not dare to appear upon it.

Cortes gained theſe advantages, but he ſaw how dearly he had bought them; he reflected how it would tarniſh his glory to deſtroy ſo beautiful a city, and drench it in the blood of its unfortunate inhabitants; and, conſidering what ſupernatural exertions of ſtrength had been frequently ſhewn by a deſpairing people, in the laſt convulſive ſtruggle for their religion, life, and property, he made uſe of the advantages he had gained to recommend the terms of accommodation which he reſolved to ſend in to the beſieged. He required no more than the acknowledgment of the emperor of the Romans, and the confirmation of his right of ſucceeding ceded to him by Montezuma, and long acknowledged by the moſt authentic prophecies of the nation, and ſuch a ſecurity as might ſettle the performance of this.

Guatimozin, who had done all that bravery and military ſkill could perform to ſave his country, finding the means moſt ſuited to his years and inclinations unſucceſsful, though full of that noble pride which becomes and ſupports the royal character, was now as willing

to ſave it by the milder and ſurer way of accommodation. But the prieſts, who had much influence in the council, either fearful of loſing their power, or through an honeſt, though blind, zeal, denounced vengeance from their gods upon all who could think of ſubmiſſion, and promiſed a certain ſucceſs to thoſe who ſtood up in defence of their religion. They had great weight; and the whole council, contrary to the opinion of the emperor, became unanimous in refuſing all terms. Guatimozin, who yielded to the general ſentiment with regret, and ſaw the unhappy conſequence but too clearly, reſolved to fall with the ſame ſpirit that he had lived. "Then, ſaid he, ſince you are determined to hazard every thing, prepare to act in a manner worthy of that reſolution. Me, you ſhall never find wanting to you, or to myſelf. Theſe are the laſt good terms you are to expect. Whatever henceforward you demand through neceſſity, will be anſwered with pride and cruelty. Therefore, henceforward, let no man preſume to ſpeak of peace, be our exigencies what they will; the firſt that dares to do it ſhall certainly die; even the prieſts themſelves; they are moſt concerned to ſupport the oracles of their gods."

When he had ſaid this, with a ſtern and determined countenance, he went out of the aſſembly, and ordered the whole city under arms.

arms. Cortes, on the other ſide, as ſoon as he found that his propoſals were rejected, laid aſide all thoughts but thoſe of violence, and commanded a general aſſault to be made at the three cauſeways all at once, and to carry fire and ſword into the heart of the city. He commanded himſelf in the principal attack. The cauſeway was broke down before him, and the breach formed a ditch of ſixty feet wide. On the other ſide appeared a fortification of earth and planks. He ordered the brigantines to the ſide of the cauſeway, to favour the attack, and directing his cannon againſt the fortification, made ſo furious a fire that it was ſoon demoliſhed; and the defenders, galled by the inceſſant ſhot, which made a moſt terrible havock, could maintain the poſt no longer. Cortes, under the fire of his cannon, and with the help of his brigantines, paſſed over the ditch, and loſt no time to poſſeſs himſelf of the other ſide, leaving one of his captains with a detachment to fill it up and ſecure a retreat, in caſe it ſhould be found neceſſary. Then he advanced to attack the remaining barricadoes of the Mexicans, who made a brave defence. The battle raged furiouſly, and as the Spaniards gained ground, their dangers and loſſes grew every moment greater. They had now advanced amongſt the buildings, from whence they were oppreſſed with a mixt ſtorm of darts, arrows, ſtones,

and boiling water. Before them ſtood a choſen body of the Mexican ſoldiers, who made a reſolute ſtand. During this conflict, the captain who had been poſted to fill up the ditch, thinking it an inglorious employment to be employed as a pioneer whilſt his companions were in ſuch hot action, advanced with all his men, and deſerted the neceſſary work he was employed in.

No ſooner had Guatimozin, whoſe eyes were every where, perceived this motion, than he took advantage of it. He ordered thoſe who were in the front of the Spaniards to ſlacken their efforts; for, as night came on faſt, he thought it better to allow the enemy to gain ſome ground, that he might fall on them with more advantage in their retreat. Cortes as quickly perceived this ſlackneſs, and the cauſe which produced it. He found that the breach of the cauſeway was abandoned, that night approached, and that there was little hope of a lodgment in the city at that time. He therefore began to retreat in the beſt order he could, ſetting fire to the houſes, that he might not be incommoded by them in his next attack. But ſcarcely was the retreat begun, when their ears were alarmed by the dreary ſound of the ſacred trumpet, ſo called becauſe it was permitted to the prieſts alone to ſound it; and that only when they animated the people on the part of their gods.

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The ſound was doleful, continued, and ſtrong, inſpiring a contempt of death, and a dark religious fury. Immediately enſued a horrid cry, which reſounded from all parts; and this was followed by an attack of more than common rage upon the arrear of the Spaniards, which was broke entirely, after a gallant and bloody ſtand. All order was now loſt. The general's commands were drowned in the cry and tumult of the fight; the Tlaſcalans, who were in the front, threw themſelves precipitately into the trench; ſome made a fruitleſs oppoſition, others attempted to gain the brigantines, whilſt the Mexicans on ſhore, in canoes, wading, or ſwimming, upon every ſide, aſſaulted and ſlaughtered them with the moſt horrid cries, and a rage almoſt inconceivable.

With difficulty Cortes and ſome of his troops eſcaped on board the brigantines, wounded and defeated. A thouſand Tlaſcalans lay dead upon the cauſeway, many Spaniards, and ſcarce any eſcaped without a wound. What was the ſaddeſt circumſtance of all, forty were taken priſoners, of whoſe deſtiny there was no doubt. The other attacks had no better ſucceſs, though in them the loſs was not ſo conſiderable. The officer, whoſe imprudence had occaſioned this misfortune, came to Cortes, with tears acknowledging his crime, and deſiring to waſh it out with his blood; but Cortes, though rigid in his diſcipline, ſaw that this was no

time to diſpirit the army with examples of ſeverity.

Night came on; but it brought no reſt to the afflicted Spaniards, ſince darkneſs could not conceal from them the triumph of the Mexicans, and the fate of their friends. They ſaw the whole city ſhining with lights, and heard it reſounding with the diſſonance of barbarous muſic, and all the marks of an horrid joy. So great were the fires and illuminations, that they could ſee diſtinctly the men in motion, and all things preparing for the death of the priſoners, attended with the mortifying circumſtance, that they were to be ſacrificed to their falſe gods. Cortes, in the midſt of all theſe calamitous circumſtances, which lay heavy about his heart, aſſumed an air of tranquillity, endeavouring to comfort his ſoldiers with the hope of a timely revenge, and taking all neceſſary care that they ſhould not be attacked unawares. This care was neceſſary; for, before morning appeared, the Mexicans, elated with their late victory, and under the auſpices of thoſe gods whom they believed they had rendered propitious by the human blood which waſhed their altars, and animated by the ſound of the conſecrated trumpet, ſallied out to attack the Spaniards in their quarters. The attack was violent, but repelled at length with an incredible ſlaughter of the Mexicans.

Guatimozin was not diſheartened. He prepared for new aſſaults, and had his ruined works repaired, to endure thoſe aſſaults which ſhould be made againſt himſelf. Not relying ſolely on force, he ſpread a report amongſt all the neighbouring nations that Cortes was killed; to them he ſent the heads of the Spaniards, who had been ſacrificed, informing them, that the god of war, appeaſed by a ſacrifice ſo agreeable to him, had audibly declared in favour of the Mexicans, threatened vengeance on thoſe who reſiſted them, and foretold that in eight days time the Spaniards ſhould be all deſtroyed. The credit of this oracle amongſt all the Indians, and the determinate time aſcertained for its completion, gave it the air of truth; for falſehood delights in general terms and equivocations, whereas the preciſe manner of ſpeaking truth, is one of the marks by which we gueſs at it. In fact, this ſtratagem had its effect; many tribes of Indians, who were upon the point of joining Cortes, embraced the Mexican intereſt; the more prudent ſuſpended their reſolution; but Guatimozin did not want emiſſaries even in the Spaniſh camp, who terrified the Indian allies with this prophecy. Even the Tlaſcalans were upon the point of deſerting him, when Cortes counteracted this ſtratagem in the wiſeſt manner poſſible. He reſolved to ſuſpend all manner of operations againſt the city

city for theſe eight days, to demonſtrate the falſity of this oracle, and to hinder it from being ever again uſed as an inſtrument to work upon the credulity of his confederates. He prevailed upon the Tlaſcalans to wait the determination. In the mean time he ſtrongly fortified his camp.

Guatimozin was ſenſible that the effect of his policy muſt be weakened every day, and with that idea employed every hour of the day or night to aſſault Cortes's camp, but always with ill ſucceſs. This great commander was always on his guard; and his troops, advantageouſly poſted, bid defiance to every thing of an Indian attack. At laſt the eight days expired, and with them the terror of the confederate Indians. The ſtratagem now operated as powerfully againſt thoſe who contrived it, inſomuch that all the neighbouring nations, before ſuſpended by the uncertain event of theſe mighty ſtruggles, declared in favour of Cortes, who by this fortunate turn in a little time found himſelf at the head of two hundred thouſand men. This was the laſt hope of the Mexicans. All that followed was only the departing agony of that ſtate. The city was aſſaulted with redoubled vigour, and now, reduced by ſlaughters, fatigue, and famine, the Mexicans ſaw the ſuperior ſtar of Cortes gain the aſcendant. The town was penetrated upon all ſides, yet the beſieged defended every

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ſtreet; and their inceſſant ſhowers of darts and ſtones from the tops of the houſes, made the progreſs of the beſiegers ſlow and bloody. In this extremity, Guatimozin did every thing that could juſtify the hopes of the Mexicans when they called him to the throne, every thing that was worthy of one reſolved to die a king. But when he found that all hope of diſlodging the enemy was utterly at an end, his troops half famiſhed, exhauſted in numbers and in ſtrength, and no part tenable, he determined to leave the city to obtain the beſt terms it could from the conquerors, and to ſeek himſelf a more proſperous opportunity at a diſtance. For this purpoſe he renewed the treaty with the Spaniards, and took the opportunity of this ceſſation of arms to put himſelf and his family, with ſome of the braveſt and moſt faithful of his nobility, on board ſome periaguas, attempting to eſcape to the continent; but Cortes, apprehending this very thing, ſtationed his fleet in ſuch a manner, that he was intercepted, and ſoon out of a condition of making any defence. He went on board the Spaniſh commander, with an air of dignity and compoſure, betraying neither fear nor ſurprize, and deſired no favour, but that the honour of his wife and her attendants might be ſpared. The Spaniſh captain attended but little to him, endeavouring to prevent the eſcape of the nobility; but

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Guatimozin desired him not to be anxious about them. "Not one of these men will fly, says he, do not fear it, they are come to die at the feet of their sovereign." The captain, admiring the constancy of the man and the fidelity of his subjects, conducted him to Cortes. The ruins of the city of Mexico were now delivered up to the Spaniards. With it fell that empire, and the liberty of all the Indian nations, which filled that vast country now called New Spain, who either slid gradually from alliance to subjection, or defending themselves without success, were made and treated as slaves.

The curiosity of the reader will doubtless be interested to know the fates of the captains of the conquering and conquered parties in this war. For some time the treatment of Guatimozin was such as fitted an unfortunate brave man, in the hands of those who could estimate virtue by other standards than its fortune; and such was his treatment, whilst the authority of Cortes was sufficient to protect him. But the infernal avarice of his troops, which at once excited and disgraced their courage, not satisfied with the plunder of this opulent city, believed that there were some latent treasures, within the knowledge of the emperor, which far exceeded all the rest that they had yet possessed. They often solicited the captive emperor with promises and threats

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to make a diſcovery, but to no purpoſe; at laſt a number of villains, Juan de Alderette at their head, a name deſerving to be remembered to its everlaſting infamy, ſeized upon him, and proceeding to the moſt abominable cruelty, laid him upon burning coals to extort a diſcovery of his wealth. But their wickedneſs could neither extort a diſcovery of his wealth, nor the ſatisfaction even of a declaration that he had none to diſcover. His countenance did not betray the leaſt yielding or weakneſs under the torture; ſome of his principal counſellors ſuffered along with him, and with equal conſtancy. At laſt, one of thoſe unhappy men, overcome by the force of torments, almoſt ſuperior to human ſtrength, turned his eyes, fainting with anguiſh, upon his maſter, and uttered a doleful cry; but Guatimozin anſwered him only by ſaying, "Do you think I lie upon roſes?" The ſufferer, ſtruck dumb with theſe words, and ſtifling every murmur that might diſhearten the others or diſturb Guatimozin, expired in an act of obedience to his prince. This wickedneſs was committed without the knowledge of Cortes. He was no ſooner appriſed of what was doing, than he ruſhed in upon the villains, and reſcued their prey, mangled as it was, from their further fury. However, this was but a ſhort reſpite. This prince, conſcious of his own dignity, and ſenſible of

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the baſe uſage he received, either endeavoured to ſtir up commotions, or was ſuſpected of ſuch a deſign; and Cortes, being obliged to ſubmit the humanity of his nature to the cruel neceſſity of politics, ordered him to be executed.

As for Cortes himſelf, neither his great ſucceſs, nor the vaſt treaſures which he ſent into Spain, could ſecure him from his enemies; by whoſe unwearied zeal for his ruin, he ſaw himſelf ſuperſeded in the government of a country, conquered by himſelf with ſo much toil and danger, and which in any other hands had never been effected. He died in Spain, having received a title and ſome other rewards from Charles the Vth, for whom he had acquired an empire; but by his own deſire he was carried to Mexico, and buried there. It was the policy of Spain at that time to give great encouragement, and extenſive grants, to all adventurers; but when any great diſcovery was made, or conqueſt atchieved, they always ſent another to reap the benefit of the firſt adventurer's labours. This was a policy undoubtedly good with regard to one object, the ſecurity of the conquered country; but, like all unjuſt policy, it had altogether as ill an effect another way; the new governors, hungry and rapacious, and ſcarce conſidering the Indians as human creatures, murdered vaſt numbers of them; and, exhauſting them by

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an intolerable ſlavery, in hopes of a ſudden gain, they depopulated the country in ſuch a manner, as to abate very much the advantages which Spain might have derived from ſo extenſive a conqueſt. Cortes himſelf was not free from the imputation of cruelty; the biſhop of Chiapa, a good man, who was ſent purpoſely to make an enquiry into complaints of this kind, gives a very unfavourable repreſentation of his conduct. He accuſes him of having deſtroyed four millions of people in New Spain. It is certain, whether by his connivance or not, but partly by the neceſſity of war, and partly by the avarice and inſolence of the conquerors, vaſt numbers of the Indians periſhed: but, on the other hand, it appears that the biſhop of Chiapa was an enemy to Cortes; which, though a good man otherwiſe, muſt detract from his credit not a little, eſpecially as other hiſtorians differ from him in this point. Beſides, I am well ſatisfied that great allowance muſt be made for exaggerations in the number of inhabitants theſe countries are ſaid to have contained. More populous, I believe, they were, than the entirely uncivilized parts of North or South America; but it can hardly be thought they were ſo full of people as they are repreſented to have been, if we can truſt to any of the rules by which we uſually judge in this matter, nor conſequently could they have ſuf-

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fered ſuch loſſes in ſo ſhort a time, without being utterly depopulated, which certainly they were not.

Since I am on the ſubject of theſe cruelties, and ſince they are things ſo frequently mentioned, I cannot help obſerving, that the accounts are by no means founded upon any tolerable methods of calculation, but thrown down at random in a declamatory way, with a deſign yet further to blacken the Spaniſh adventurers; men certainly wicked enough, though repreſented without any heightening colours. The truth is, that great numbers, perhaps almoſt as great as are charged, have really periſhed; but then it was in a ſeries of years, by being reduced to ſlavery in the mines and other laborious occupations, to which the Americans are of all people by their conſtitutions the moſt unequal, and by being diſheartened by a ſtate of unpolitical and deſperate ſlavery, the greateſt enemy in the world to an increaſe.

There is a notion likewiſe pretty common, that theſe cruelties were committed partly, if not wholly, upon a religious account, and at the inſtigation of the prieſts; but in reality it was quite otherwiſe. This unfortunate people found their only refuge in the humanity which yet remained in the clergy, and the influence they had on the Spaniards; though the clergy, who went on theſe adventures,

were

were generally not the moſt zealous for religion, and were, as the Spaniſh clergy commonly are, ignorant enough, and ſo little principled in the ſpirit of the religion they profeſſed, or indeed in the nature of the human mind, that they could boaſt, as a very glorious thing, that one of them had baptized ſeveral thouſands of Indians in one day, without the help of any miracle for their converſion, and with a degree of good life, which, to ſay the beſt, was nothing more than common. But of any murders committed by them, or at their inſtigation, I find little or no proof at all.

CHAP. XV.

The ſcheme of Pizarro and Almagro for the conqueſt of Peru. Their characters. The ſtate of the empire of Peru at that time. The taking of the ynca Atabalipa.

BESIDES Mexico, there was but one country in America which in any ſort deſerved the name of a civilized kingdom, and that was Peru. During the latter part of the Mexican war, the Spaniards became acquainted with the fame and wealth of this country. After Pedraria was appointed governor over the conqueſts of Balboa, his lieutenants reduced all that large tract which is

now called Terra-firma, committing barbarities worthy the man under whoſe authority they acted. Amongſt all the adventurers who acted under his commiſſion, none have made themſelves ſo famous as thoſe of whom we are going to ſpeak.

As if it were deſtined that every thing in in this new world ſhould be carried on in a new and extraordinary manner, three citizens of Panama, private men, and advanced in years, undertook the conqueſt of Peru, a country known to them only by report, but by the ſame report ſaid to be rich, extenſive, populous and powerful. The names of theſe adventurers were, Francis Pizarro, Almagro, and Ferdinand Lucques, a prieſt, and a man of conſiderable fortune. They entered into this engagement in the moſt ſolemn manner. Lucques ſaid maſs, an oath of mutual fidelity was plighted, the ſacrament was divided into three parts, Lucques took one, and delivered the other two to his confederates. The firſt expedition, in conſequence of this confederacy, was made under extraordinary difficulties and with very little ſucceſs. Pizarro, who commanded, ſpent two years in the ſhort Navigation between Panama and the Northern extremity of Peru, a voyage now made frequently in two weeks, ſince the winds and currents are known. He landed, and found that the wealth of the country was

as great as he imagined; and that the reſiſtance he was like to meet in endeavouring to poſſeſs himſelf of it, would be full as conſiderable. This he put to the proof very early, by taking the raſh ſtep of attacking the inhabitants at his firſt landing; and thus letting them ſee all at once the worſt of his intentions. The difficulties he met with, and the reſiſtance his ill conduct occaſioned in the country, obliged him to return without effecting any thing conſiderable. But neither he nor his aſſociates, after ſuch a length of time or ſuch greatneſs of expence, were deterred from the proſecution of their ſcheme. It was agreed that Pizarro ſhould go into Spain, to obtain an exemption from the government of Pedraria, and to get for themſelves the grant of whatever they ſhould conquer. Pizarro (who, though not the monied man, was the ſoul of the enterprize) was to be chief governor, with the property of two hundred leagues along the ſea-coaſt. Almagro they agreed ſhould be adelantado, or king's lieutenant; and Lucques, who was a prieſt, was to be firſt biſhop and protector of the Indians. The other profits of the enterprize were to be equally divided. But as this was an enterprize of ambitious avarice, there was little faith obſerved. Pizarro ſolicited only his own ſuit in Spain, and obtained for himſelf alone the property of the land, the go-

vernment, the lieutenancy, every thing which he was capable as a layman of taking; Almagro was forgot, and to Lucques was left his eventual biſhoprick.

On his return, this too early diſcovery of breach of faith was like to ruin all; but Pizarro, who knew how to retreat as well as to advance, yielded up to Almagro every thing he could reaſonably deſire; and nothing now obſtructed the embarkation, which, after all, did not exceed one hundred and eighty men.

Before we proceed, it may not be unneceſſary to ſay ſomething of the perſons who had the conduct of this great undertaking. Francis Pizarro was the baſtard ſon of a gentleman of good family. His education was as irregular as his birth, he could not even read; but then he had a great deal of that capacity and fitneſs for the world, which is obtaintd by much ſtruggling in it, and by being early made dependent on a man's own induſtry. Hardened to life, dexterous in affairs, never ſetting his heart upon a part of his deſigns whilſt the total was at ſtake, of a penetrating ſagacity into the nature of man, artful, bold, diſſembling, and cruel. Almagro had likewiſe enough of that deſperate bravery and toughneſs of body and mind, ſo neceſſary in a deſign of this ſort. In their birth there was no conſiderable difference. Pizarro was a baſtard, Almagro a foundling. Pizarro owed nothing to education;

cation; Almagro depended wholly upon his natural parts. But Almagro, bred from his infancy in the camp, had all the ſoldierly qualities, patient, laborious, and temperate; far from the craft and diſſimulation of Pizarro, he was all openneſs and generoſity, knew not what avarice was, and his cruelty, the common diſtemper of all the adventurers in this part of the world, was much mitigated by the intercourſe he had with an Indian woman, who, by degrees, ſoftened the rigour of a veteran ſeaſoned to blood, into ſome compaſſion to her unhappy countrymen.

The empire of Peru was governed by a race of kings, which they called yncas. The twelfth in ſucceſſion was then upon the throne. The firſt of this race, named Mango Capac, was a prince of great genius, with that mixture of enthuſiaſm, which fits a man to make great changes, and to be the legiſlator of a forming nation. He obſerved that the people of Peru were naturally ſuperſtitious, and had principally a veneration for the ſun. He therefore pretended that he was deſcended from that luminary, whoſe authority he was deſigned to bear, and whoſe worſhip he was by that authority to enforce. By this perſuaſion, eaſily received by a credulous people, he brought a large territory under his juriſdiction; a larger was ſubdued by his arms; but he made uſe both of the deceit

and the force for the moſt laudable purpoſes. He united and civilized the diſperſed and barbarous people; he bent them to laws and arts; he ſoftened them by the inſtitutions of a benevolent religion; in ſhort, there was no part of America in which agriculture and the arts were ſo much and ſo well cultivated, nor where the people were of a milder nature, and more ingenuous manners. The yncas, deſcended, as they imagined, from ſo ſacred an original, were themſelves reſpected as divinities. In none, even of the Aſiatic countries, was there ſo entire an obedience to the royal authority. But here it was rather filial than ſlaviſh. As to the character of the Peruvians themſelves, they ſeem to have had a ſtrong reſemblance to the ancient Egyptians; like them, under a ſky conſtantly ſerene, they were a people induſtrious and ingenious; cultivating the arts, but without bringing them to perfection; inclined to ſuperſtition, and of a ſoft unwarlike temper.

The ynca Guaiana Çapaç having conquered the province of Quito, which now makes a part of Spaniſh Peru, to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion, married the daughter of the natural prince of the country. By her he had a ſon called Atahualpa, or Atabalipa. By a former marriage he had a ſon named Hueſcar, heir of his other dominions. On his death Hueſcar, his

his eldeſt ſon, claims his whole dominions, both hereditary and acquired. Atabalipa, the youngeſt, without pretending to the reſt, would keep Quito as his right by the double title of ſon to the conqueror, and to her whoſe inheritance that kingdom was, fortified beſides by the will which the dying ynca had made in his favour. This diſpute kindled a civil war, which, after ſeveral turns of fortune, ended at laſt in favour of Atabalipa; he not only routed his brother's armies and over-run his dominions, but actually held him a priſoner in the tower of Cuſco.

Such was the face of affairs when the Spaniards arrived in Peru, whoſe remarkable appearance and ſurprizing feats of arms were every where ſpread about the country, and cauſed a general alarm. As uſual in frightful rumours, new ſuperſtitions begin, or old ones are revived, to encreaſe the confuſion. There ſubſiſted a tradition amongſt the Peruvians, that one of their ancient princes had a dream which he ordered carefully to be recorded. He imagined that he ſaw a man cloathed all over, even to his feet, with a long beard, and leading in his hand an animal, ſuch as he had never ſeen before; and that at the ſame time he was clearly informed of the will of the gods, that ſuch a man ſhould rule that country. A Spaniard, whom Pizarro had ſent upon an embaſſy to Atabalipa, as ſoon as he

was diſcovered leading his horſe upon ſome occaſion that made him diſmount, agreed ſo well with his dream, that it is incredible how ſoon it ſpread into the remoteſt parts of the country, and with how great a terror it ſtruck the whole nation.

Atabalipa, newly ſeated upon a precarious throne, was not the leaſt alarmed at this event; for a new-erected power has every thing to fear from whatever ſets the people's minds, ſtill unſettled, upon a new motion. He reſolved, if poſſible, that his enemies ſhould take no advantage of the arrival of thoſe ſtrangers, by engaging them by all means to his own intereſt. He therefore received the embaſſadors, which Pizarro had ſent, with the greateſt marks of honour, though their diſcourſe, conſiſting itſelf of very impertinent matter, was very ill interpreted to him, as was his to them. He even went out to meet Pizarro with a vaſt number of attendants, to whom he gave the ſtricteſt charge upon no account to offer the leaſt injury to the ſtrangers, as they were thoſe of whom his predeceſſor had foretold, and of the ſame divine original, children of the ſun. But Pizarro, who advanced with other notions to the interview, ſoon convinced him that a contrary caution was more neceſſary. They met near a celebrated temple, the Spaniards drawn up in order of battle, and a party in ambuſcade.

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This circumſtance leaves us in no doubt as to the deſign of Pizarro. The firſt perſon who addreſſed himſelf to the ynca, was father Vincent, a friar, who was not aſhamed to make his character the inſtrument of ſo baſe a crime. He advanced with a croſs in his hand, and began a moſt unſeaſonable diſcourſe upon the birth and miracles of Chriſt, exhorting him to become a chriſtian, on the pain of eternal puniſhment. Then he ſpoke with equal eloquence of the emperor of the Romans, preſſing him with the ſame ſtrength of argument to become a ſubject to that emperor; threatening him, in caſe of obſtinacy, that God would harden his heart as he did Pharaoh's, and then puniſh him with the plagues of Egypt; with other miſerable ſtuff, worſe interpreted. The ynca, though utterly aſtoniſhed at a matter ſo unaccountable, behaved with decency and gravity, telling him, that he believed that he and his companions were children of the ſun; recommended himſelf and his ſubjects to their protection; and made no doubt but they would behave to them in a manner worthy the offspring of ſo beneficent a deity.

Whilſt theſe diſcourſes continued, the Spaniſh ſoldiers, whoſe leaſt buſineſs to Peru was to liſten to ſermons, obſerving a conſiderable quantity of gold in the neighbouring temple, had their zeal immediately ſtirred up, and a party

party of them began to pillage it. The prieſts made ſome oppoſition. A diſturbance enſued, and a great noiſe, which ſo alarmed our adventuring apoſtle, that he let fall his croſs and breviary in his fright, and turned his back upon his intended proſelyte. Thoſe Spaniards who were not concerned in the pillage ſeeing him fly, either that they judged the heathens had offered their prieſt ſome violence, or that Pizarro made uſe of this ſignal to them to fall on, immediately drew their ſwords, attacked the guards and attendants of the ynca, defenceleſs through a religious obedience to their ſovereign's command, and with every circumſtance of the moſt deliberate and ſhocking barbarity ſlaughtered five thouſand, which was near the whole number of the Indians, who fell without any anxiety for their own lives, preſſing forward with all the zeal and officiouſneſs of a moſt heroic loyalty to the chair of their prince, to expire at his feet; and as faſt as one ſet of his ſupporters were ſlain, the others ſucceeded with eagerneſs to ſupply their places, and ſhare their fate. The ynca at laſt was dragged down, and made a priſoner, by an act of the moſt unparalleled treachery, executed with a cruelty that has hardly an example, and can admit of no excuſe. The plunder of his camp, rich beyond the idea of any European of that time, was their reward.

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The unfortunate prince was not wanting to himſelf in his captivity. Seeing that his liberty had fallen a ſacrifice to their avarice, he hoped to relieve himſelf by working upon the ſame diſpoſition. He began to treat of his ranſom, and promiſed ſuch ſums as aſtoniſhed the Spaniards into an agreement; nor was the performance unequal. On this occaſion, not only the ancient ornaments and valuable furniture, amaſſed by a long line of magnificent kings, were brought out; but the hallowed treaſures of the moſt venerated temples were given without ſcruple, to ſave him who was the ſupport of the kingdom and the religion. Whilſt theſe were preparing, three Spaniards, who were ſent to Cuſco to ſuperintend in the work, had means of conferring with Hueſcar, who, quickly finding their foible and the uſe his brother had made of it, complained bitterly of the injuries he had ſuffered; begging the Spaniards, as the patrons of the oppreſſed, to embrace his cauſe, promiſing threefold the treaſure for their aſſiſtance, which Atabalipa was to pay for his ranſom. He received a very favourable anſwer. Mean time the Spaniards treated the ynca with all manner of civility, admitted his attendants to him, but no talk of his liberty. As ſoon as he had been appriſed of Hueſcar's negotiation with the Spaniards, and Almagro's arrival with an additional force, he began to

be

be under great apprehenſions. To eaſe himſelf upon one ſide, he ſent immediate orders to have Hueſcar put to death.

The arrival of Almagro, on the other hand, cauſed ſome embarraſſment in Pizarro's affairs. This commander, finding that Pizarro had ſeized the ynca with immenſe treaſures, and having already experienced his ill faith, conſulted with his principal officers about leaving Pizarro's part to himſelf and ſeeking their fortune elſewhere. Whilſt this was in agitation, his ſecretary, moved by ſome reſentment to his maſter, gave Pizarro notice of the deſign. In an inſtant Pizarro ſaw how diſadvantageous ſuch a ſtep muſt prove to him, with ſo ſmall a force, all reſources at a diſtance, and the country exaſperated by the deteſtable action he had lately committed. He ſaw that all depended upon removing every ſuſpicion from the breaſt of Almagro. For this purpoſe, and as ſomething of an ill mind appeared in his moſt maſterly actions, he began by ſacrificing the ſecretary. He informed Almagro of his treachery. Next, though gold was the great object of his undertakings, yet he knew how to relinquiſh ſome part to ſecure the reſt. He agreed to divide the ſpoil equally between Almagro and himſelf, and to make no diſtinction between the ſoldiers of either in the diſtribution. This made an

entire and hearty reconciliation; which was no ſooner concluded than the ynca's ranſom came in.

But this vaſt treaſure, the capital object of all their labours and villanies, no ſooner came into their poſſeſſion, but in its conſequences it was very near being the utter ruin of their affairs. It is ſaid, and not improbably, that the whole exceeded the ſum of one million five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, a ſum vaſt at the preſent time; then it was a prodigy. On the dividend, after deducting a fifth for the emperor, and the ſhares of the chief commanders and officers, each private ſoldier had above two thouſand pounds Engliſh money. They had now made a fortune even beyond their imaginations; but the ſoldiery was ruined, the greateſt part of the army inſiſted upon being diſcharged, that they might enjoy their fortunes in quiet. This propoſal ill ſuited with the ambitious views of the commanders. Almagro was for proceeding in the uſual way, to enforce obedience by the ſeverity of military diſcipline; but Pizarro oppoſed him. "Let them go, ſays he, they cannot do us better ſervice; here we ſhall have them mutinous and cowardly ſoldiers, at home they will act for us as recruiting officers with great ſucceſs; for when it ſhall be ſeen that common ſoldiers, of ſo little merit as they, have made ſuch large fortunes, we ſhall not

long

long want better men to ſupply their places." The deſire of the ſoldiers was complied with, and as many as choſe to go, who were no inconſiderable number, departed. In due time, the ſagacious prophecy of Pizarro was accompliſhed, and their army never wanted reinforcements.

CHAP. XVI.

The murder of the ynca. A diſpute between Pizarro and Almagro. They were reconciled. Almagro's expedition to Chili. The Peruvians renew the war, and beſiege Cuſco. Almagro returns and defeats them. Almagro renews the quarrel with Pizarro, but is defeated and put to death.

IN the mean time the unfortunate Atabalipa, the greatneſs of whoſe ranſom only convinced the Spaniards of the neceſſity of never releaſing him, endeavoured to take advantage of his captivity, to know the genius and manners of this people. Amongſt all their accompliſhments, there was nothing he ſo much admired as the art of reading and writing. This appeared almoſt incomprehenſible to him, though he ſaw clearly the uſe of it. He was at a loſs to know whether he ſhould conſider it as a natural endowment, or as an acquiſition of art. To diſcover this, he one day deſired

deſired a ſoldier to write the name of God upon his nail: he carried this about the army, deſiring ſeveral to explain it, which they all did, to his wonder and ſatisfaction. At laſt he ſhewed it to Pizarro, but Pizarro bluſhed, and could make nothing of it. The ynca then perceived it was no natural gift, but owing to education; the want of which he thus diſcovered in Pizarro, and ſlighted him for it. This mortified the general, and his diſguſt, joined to his natural cruelty and a policy he thought he ſaw in the proceeding, made him haſten the fate he had ſome time before determined for his unhappy priſoner. That nothing might be wanting to the boldneſs and atrociouſneſs of their barbarity, they proceeded againſt him by way of trial and by the forms of law.

A charge was exhibited, digeſted under ſeveral heads. 1ſt, For being an idolater. 2dly, For having many concubines. 3dly, For waſting the treaſures of the kingdom, and raiſing taxes ſince the coming in of the Spaniards. And laſtly, For the murder of his brother Hueſcar. An attorney-general was appointed to manage the accuſation, and an advocate appointed from amongſt themſelves aſſigned for his defence. In vain did the more numerous and better part of the army proteſt againſt this proceeding, and lodge an appeal to Spain; in vain did they alledge their want of power

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to judge a foreign prince for any crimes, and the abſurdity of the crimes with which this prince was charged. Before ſuch judges, and with ſuch an advocate to defend him, the ynca was condemned to be burned alive. To compleat this violation and mockery of all laws, human and divine, the ſame father Vincent, who had ſo ſignalized himſelf upon a former occaſion, was ſent to comfort and inſtruct him in his laſt moments. The chief argument which he uſed to convert him to chriſtianity was, that, on his embracing the faith, inſtead of being burned, his ſentence ſhould be mitigated to ſtrangling. This prince ſubmitted to baptiſm, and was immediately ſtrangled in priſon. Pizarro gave the final ſtroke to his hardened and ſhameleſs villainy, by giving him a magnificent funeral, and going into mourning.

The death of the ynca was no ſooner ſpread abroad, than the principal nobility at Cuſco ſet up the brother of Hueſcar; Pizarro ſet up a ſon of Atabalipa; and two generals of the Peruvians ſet up for themſelves. Thus was this wretched country torn to pieces at once by foreigners, and by a domeſtic war amongſt themſelves. Yet ſuch is the preference of any ſort of ſpirit rouſed within a nation, to a lethargic inactivity, that the Peruvians gained ſome conſiderable advantages over the Spaniards, even in this diſtracted condition,

dition, and took ſeveral priſoners, amongſt which was the attorney-general, whom they put to the death he deſerved without any great formality. The reſt of the priſoners, as ſoon as they were informed of their having proteſted againſt the emperor's death, they generouſly releaſed. Theſe advantages gained by the Peruvians made the Spaniards liſten to a treaty; for Pizarro was equally ready at all times to make a peace, or to break it, as his affairs required. He made uſe of this interval to ſettle the Spaniards in the country. It was now that he laid the foundations of the famous city of Lima. But as ſoon as he judged himſelf in a condition to proſecute it, he renewed the war with the Indians, and, after many difficulties, made himſelf maſter of Cuſco, then the capital of the empire.

But, whilſt he was thus by force and fraud eſtabliſhing himſelf every where, the whole fabric of his deſigns was ſhaken by a freſh diſpute between him and his collegue Almagro. Theſe commanders had little mutual affection, and leſs confidence in each other's honour and integrity; for ſimilarity of manners is no ground of friendſhip, but where the manners are good in themſelves. Their common neceſſities, it is true, obliged them for a time to keep a fair appearance; but each, ſatisfied of the other's ill intentions, watched an opportunity of being before-hand in ſome ſiniſter

advantage. New grants and ſupplies had lately arrived from Spain. Pizarro obtained two hundred leagues along the ſea-coaſt, to the Southward of his former government. Almagro had a grant of two hundred more to the Southward of Pizarro's. Judging, or pretending he judged, that the wealthy and important city of Cuſco was not included within Pizarro's grant, he immediately ceaſed to act in ſubordination to him, and claimed this city as his property. Pizarro's brother, who commanded for him, abſolutely refuſed to deliver up the place. Almagro inſiſted on it with equal obſtinacy; and they were on the point of deciding the diſpute by the ſword, when Pizarro, the moment he had notice of the quarrel, ſet out from Lima, where he was at that time indiſpoſed, and, notwithſtanding his infirmity, with incredible expedition arrived at Cuſco. He told his collegue, that he was not unable nor afraid to ſupport the juſtice of his claim by arms; but he choſe rather to convince him by reaſon; that the ties which ſubſiſted between them, and their common neceſſities, would always touch him with concern when he ſhould be compelled to violent courſes; which, however they might end with regard to the competitors, would certainly be much more in favour of the common enemy. He demonſtrated to him that Cuſco was indubitably within his (Pizarro's) govern-

ment, and ended in aſſuring him, that, as he would defend his own right with all his force, ſo he was equally willing to employ all that force, with all his treaſure, and all his counſel, and whatever aſſiſtance he could give, to put Almagro into poſſeſſion of whatever was really his right; that this lay yet more to the Southward than Cuſco, and was a country no way inferior in its riches, and the eaſineſs of its conqueſt.

This timely appearance of Pizarro, his dexterous management, and judicious mixture of firmneſs and flexibility, made ſuch an impreſſion upon Almagro, tha he was once more reconciled; and, adding as many of Pizarro's troops to his own as he judged neceſſary, he penetrated with great danger and difficulty into Chili, loſing many of his men whilſt he paſſed over mountains of an immenſe height, and always covered with ſnow. He ſucceeded notwithſtanding in a good meaſure in his deſigns, for he reduced a valuable and conſiderable part of that country.

There was undoubtedly in the four hundred leagues which Pizarro had ſolicited for himſelf, enough of land to ſupply any reaſonable ambition, and ſomething to ſpare, to ſecure the quiet poſſeſſion of the reſt; but his eagerneſs after a large territory made him blind to the folly of dividing his troops, and ſending Almagro upon a wild diſtant expedition; and

yet he conſidered this as a maſter-piece of policy. A little time, however, convinced him to the contrary. No ſooner did the ynca perceive this diviſion of the Spaniſh troops, than he deſired leave from Pizarro's brother, who managed affairs for him at Cuſco, to aſſiſt at a ſolemn feſtival of his nation, which was to be held at ſome diſtance. This feaſt was in reality a ſort of an aſſembly of the ſtates of the kingdom. The ynca, having obtained permiſſion to aſſiſt at it, made uſe of this opportunity to repreſent to his ſubjects, in the moſt pathetic manner, the miſery to which the nation was reduced; the ſettlement of the Spaniards, the cities they had built, the garriſon they kept at Cuſco, and the guard they had on his own perſon. That, for their ſakes, he was now reſolved to hazard that perſon, and every thing that was dear to him; that now was the time to make the effort with ſucceſs, when their enemies, divided amongſt themſelves, had ſeparated in ſearch of other kingdoms, to ſatisfy an ambition that nothing could ſatiate. The whole aſſembly united in theſe ſentiments; they rouſed the country every where, and the Spaniards who remained in Peru were not able to prevent the ynca from laying ſiege to Cuſco, with an army of two hundred thouſand men. Though the garriſon under Ferdinand Pizarro conſiſted of no more than ſeventy men, yet, with their artil-

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lery, the ſallies made with their horſe, and aſſiſted by the ignorance of the Peruvians in carrying on a ſiege, their defence was as ſucceſsful as it was brave.

News was brought to Almagro of the dangers to which Cuſco was expoſed, and the univerſal inſurrection of the Peruvians. Relinquiſhing his new conqueſts, he haſtened back to preſerve his old with great expedition; tho' on his return he ſuffered as much from drought and heat, as in his progreſs he had endured from cold. At his approach the Indians raiſed the ſiege, and he was joyfully received into Cuſco by Ferdinand Pizarro, and the garriſon, almoſt exhauſted by the length of the defence.

After all theſe long and laborious marches, Almagro was extremely fatigued, and thought it hard, that now in the wane of his life he ſhould be driven with infinite toil upon new conqueſts, while Pizarro ſat down at eaſe to enjoy alone the fruits of their common labours. He reſolved to renew his claim to Cuſco; he had now a ſort of right to it by having raiſed the ſiege, and he had a ſtrength ſufficient to ſupport that right. Ferdinand and Gonzalo, the two brothers of Pizarro, making ſome oppoſition, were thrown into priſon, and their little army either joined him, or ſhared the ſame fate.

Pizarro, unacquainted with the arrival of Almagro, or the ſtep he had taken, had got together an army for the relief of Cuſco, who were near the town before they found they had an enemy of any other ſort than the Indians to contend with. Almagro, after having tried in vain to ſeduce their fidelity; engaged and routed them. On this advantage, his friends repreſented to him, that now was the happy hour of his fortune, and that he ought to employ it to eſtabliſh himſelf beyond all poſſibility of being removed. That he ought to put the Pizarro's, his priſoners, to death, and march directly to Lima, to ſeize upon his rival, who never could be heartily reconciled to him, and whilſt he remained in poſſeſſion of the ſea-coaſt, could never want means of making his enmity terrible. Almagro had humanity enough to reject the firſt part of this counſel, and weakneſs enough not to hearken to the laſt. If he marched into another's government, he trembled at the name of a rebel; and, for fear of the name, expoſed himſelf to ſuffer the puniſhment of the thing; not conſidering that, having once embrued his hands in civil blood, he ought never to ſtop till his end was gained; that conqueſt alone could decide the queſtion of their right; and that he who had the greater force, would have the beſt means of protection, if he was in the wrong. Whilſt he deliberated what courſe

to

to take, Gonzalo Pizarro made his eſcape with an hundred of thoſe who were affected to his cauſe.

It was the intereſt of Pizarro, who found himſelf in no immediate condition to carry on the war, yet poſſeſſed all the means of being reinforced, to keep matters from coming to an extremity; it was Almagro's to bring them to a ſpeedy iſſue; and, in this knowledge of the management of time, when to lie by to gain it, and when to uſe the preſent moment, the great ſkill in buſineſs, ſo little underſtood, depends almoſt entirely. Pizarro had recourſe to the old way of treaty; he promiſed largely, he offered a ſea-port, and agreed to ſubmit the deciſion of all their diſputes to the royal audience; but, as a preliminary, he inſiſted on the releaſe of his brother Ferdinand. Experienced as Almagro was in Pizarro's faith, he gave up the only pledge that could ſecure it. The moment Ferdinand was releaſed, he was put at the head of the reinforcements Pizarro had long expected, and now received; and, as he was a man of capacity, he prepared to act with vigour. The treaty was forgot.

The country which held for Almagro was ſeparated from that which Pizarro poſſeſſed, by vaſt mountains paſſable only in ſome ſteep and dangerous defiles. Almagro's counſellors adviſed him by all means to poſt his troops in

ſuch a manner as to oppoſe his enemies in thoſe paſſes; but ſo infatuated was he with a falſe ſecurity, that he refuſed to ſend any troops to occupy thoſe important poſts, which were ſeized by the enemy without the leaſt oppoſition. He had, however, one reſource left, and that a good one. The town of Cuſco was well fortified, had a good garriſon, and the enemy was ill provided for carrying on the ſiege. But, as he had prejudiced his affairs before by dilatory meaſures, he now completely ruined them by precipitation and temerity. He turned his back upon the advantages of his ſituation, and reſolved, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, to hazard his fortune in the field; confident of his own ſuperiority, and full of contempt of the enemy, whom he believed to be raw troops. But he found too late, that they were veterans of great bravery, and exact diſcipline. The engagement was warm; in which Almagro and his troops behaved in ſuch a manner as not to diſgrace their former exploits; but, after a gallant ſtruggle, they were in the end entirely defeated. Almagro himſelf was taken priſoner, and fell, at the age of ſeventy-three years, a victim to a raſhneſs ſcarce excuſeable in a young ſoldier; but to the laſt degree blameable in an experienced commander, who, being ſuppoſed to have long eſtabliſhed his reputation for courage beyond all doubt, ought

to

to model his conduct only by his own experience, and the circumſtances of the affair in which he is engaged.

Pizarro, having got the rival who had cauſed him ſo many apprehenſions into his hands, reſolved to ſhew him no mercy. In ſpite of Almagro's age, which, as it might remove his fears, ought to have given room for pity; in ſpite of their common warfare, their dangers and triumphs; in ſpite of every ſentiment of gratitude for what this unfortunate man had contributed to his greatneſs, and in ſpite of his late mercy to his brother; all which were pathetically and ſtrongly urged by Almagro, to ſuffer an old man, and a priſoner too, after ſo many fruitleſs toils, to die quietly in his bed; Pizarro was deaf to every thing but a barbarous policy, which made him ſubmit every virtue to ſecuring the meaneſt part of his deſigns. Almagro was formally tried, ſentenced, and then ſtrangled in priſon. His body was afterwards beheaded publicly on a ſcaffold, and for a long time denied burial. A negro ſlave interred it by ſtealth. Amidſt the pity which this barbarous execution cauſed, people could not forbear recollecting the unhappy fate of Atahualpa, and the ſhare which Almagro had in it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The final diſperſion of the Peruvian army. The conſpiracy againſt Pizarro. He is murdered.

WHILST this civil war raged, the ynca took a very extraordinary reſolution. He diſbanded his troops and retired to the mountains; "Becauſe, ſays he, whilſt we are in arms, their fear of us will be a means of uniting the Spaniards; but if we diſperſe, they will certainly deſtroy each other." A reſolution this, which at firſt view has ſomething maſterly, but it is only when viewed in one light. When their natural prince is fled, the people who muſt be governed may give the reins of government into the hands of the enemy. An army once diſperſed is got together again with great difficulty; and, on the other hand, a civil war is by no means a certain deſtruction to thoſe who are engaged in it: and indeed, by the reaſon of the thing and by the event, it was an ill-judged ſtep, the ſcheme of a barbarous prince, who was far from being a conſummate politician.

It was very ruinous to the Peruvians, that, happening to be divided amongſt themſelves when the Spaniards came in, they ſuffered them to interfere in their parties; but it was of yet worſe conſequence that, when the Spaniards were

were afterwards divided, they interfered themſelves in the Spaniſh parties. Almagro and Pizarro had armies of Indians, by which thoſe people were habituated to obey them, and to be intereſted in their ſucceſs; this, joined to the want of any regular plan of defence on the part of their king and commanders, ſubdued that empire to Pizarro with ſmall trouble, if we conſider the greatneſs of the object. But having atchieved ſo great a conqueſt, it only made Pizarro acquainted with other great tracts which were rich, and might be added to them. He followed the tracks of Almagro into Chili, and reduced a conſiderable part of the country. Orellana, one of his commanders, paſſed the Andes, and ſailed down to the mouth of the river of Amazons; an immenſe navigation, which diſcovered a rich and delightful country; but, as it is moſtly flat, and therefore not abounding in minerals, the Spaniards then, and ever ſince, neglected it.

The death of Almagro, and the influence it had upon the conduct of Pizarro, is a ſtriking example how neceſſary it is for a great man to have an awe upon him from ſome oppoſition, that may keep his prudence alive, and teach him to have a watch upon his paſſions. Not content with a territory upwards of eight hundred leagues long, and of a prodigious breadth, riches ſuch as none of the kings of his country had ever poſſeſſed, a juriſdiction little leſs than

royal,

royal, and an abſolute ſecurity for the extinction of the only perſon who had any pretenſions againſt him, either through a jealouſy which often haunts the happieſt fortune, or through a pride which cannot bear even the appearance of any who had once withſtood his power, he took a reſolution entirely to cut off all that had ever adhered to his rival; he did not know when the iſſue of blood ought to be ſtopped; nor that examples of ſeverity on a few, create terror and ſubmiſſion, but that threats of general deſtruction produce nothing but deſpair and deſperate reſolutions. He was not ſatisfied with putting many to death, but iſſued a proclamation, inhibiting, under the ſame penalty, that any perſon ſhould harbour, or even relieve an Almagrian with the neceſſaries of life. This party was yet numerous, though diſperſed and lurking about the country. The heads of them, finding Pizarro implacable, entered into a conſpiracy to murder him. They did not want adherents in the city, ſo that they found means of concealing themſelves until their plot ſhould be ripe for execution; but by ſome means Pizarro diſcovered their deſigns, and ſuffered them to know he had diſcovered them. Alarmed at this information, they ſaw nothing could happen but death at any ſide. Twelve of the chiefs marched into the ſtreets at noon-day, with their ſwords drawn, crying out, "Long live the

 king!

king! but let the traitor die;" and croſſing the great ſquare of Lima, made directly to Pizarro's palace; the reſt followed in different parties. The people all the while ſuſpended, and in that inactive amazement which the execution of a bold and ſudden enterprize generally inſpires, made no oppoſition. The conſpirators ſecured the avenues; and Pizarro, not alarmed until he was ſurrounded by his enemies, fell under their ſwords after having ſold his life dearly.

Thus died Pizarro, by an event extremely memorable. A great conqueror, in the city he had himſelf built, in his own palace, amidſt his guards, murdered at noon-day by the hands of a ſmall number of fugitives. The Peruvians had the ſatisfaction to ſee the ſecond of their conquerors cut off by the ſame ſword that had afflicted themſelves.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Young Almagro made governor. The new viceroy Vaca di Caſtro arrives. Puts to death young Almagro. Puts an end to the factions, and ſettles the province. He is recalled. Gonzalo Pizarro raiſes a rebellion, and uſurps the government. Peter de la Gaſca made viceroy. Defeats the troops of Pizarro, and puts him to death.

WHEN Pizarro had fallen in conſequence of thoſe cruel and ill-judged ſteps which he took for his ſecurity, the Almagrians, elate with their ſucceſs, and growing into a formidable body, ſeized upon the city, and proclaimed the natural ſon of old Almagro governor; a youth not twenty years of age, but of a courage and capacity not abſolutely unequal to a charge of ſuch importance, undertaken in circumſtances ſo critical. But though the Almagrians ſucceeded beyond their hopes, by the conſternation cauſed by the ſuddenneſs of the attempt, and the general diſlike to the cruel procedure of Pizarro; the major part of the Spaniards were far from acquieſcing in this irregular nomination of a governor. A conſiderable number, and thoſe of the beſt men, declared, that, without intereſting themſelves in the quarrel of either party, they

they would wait for the emperor's determination, which they expected hourly, and to which alone they were reſolved to conform themſelves.

In this ſtate of things the new governor Vaca di Caſtro arrived. This man was of a good family, and by profeſſion a lawyer; but, through a more rigid adherence to the ſtricteſt idea of right and juſtice than is ſuitable to the coarſeneſs of practice, he did not make that figure in his profeſſion to which his great capacity entitled him. But what kept him backward at the bar, recommended him firſt to the knowledge, and afterwards to the eſteem, of his maſter the emperor Charles the Vth, who was a man of too much diſcernment not to be ſtruck with a character ſo ſingular as was that of one who was a lawyer without exerciſing the trade of law, and lived at court without being a courtier. Therefore, without any ſolicitation of his own, without any recommendation from a miniſter or favourite, this man's plain unoſtentatious virtue placed him in an employment of ſo great a truſt. When he arrived in the Indies, he ſtill preſerved his character. He acted like one who came neither to acquire friends nor fortune, but ſolely to do his duty; and he ſhewed favour or diſapprobation to all in proportion as they performed their's. Indian or Spaniard was entirely alike to the equality of his juſtice. He

flattered

flattered nobody, he threatened nobody; and, whilſt he lived with all the modeſty of a private man, he ſupported all the dignity of a governor.

He was hardly landed, when young Almagro ſent him an embaſſy, explaining the reaſons of his conduct, and propoſing terms; but Caſtro anſwered him, that he was come under the emperor's authority, ſolely to do him and every body juſtice, of which, if a good ſubject, he could have no room to complain; if a bad one, he muſt prepare to feel it: he knew no other terms. This was new language to governors in this part of the world, who almoſt forgot they had a ſuperior. Almagro therefore was reſolved to abide the fortune of war, rather than ſubmit without ſuch terms as might enſure him the government of his father's province at leaſt. On the other hand, Caſtro would hear of no terms between a king and his ſubjects, and therefore ſet himſelf at the head of his troops, which were compoſed of thoſe who had refuſed to obey Almagro, and gave him battle. The victory was on his ſide, but not without a bloody diſpute.

Several of Almagro's officers, in hopes of procuring favour for themſelves, betrayed his cauſe in the battle; but Caſtro was far from thinking their treachery to their leader could be reckoned a ſervice to the crown, and there-

fore ſpared none of them in the numerous executions he found it neceſſary to make on this occaſion. None of the ſufferers was more pitied than Almagro, who behaved with the utmoſt gallantry in the engagement, as he had done with much humanity and honour upon moſt occaſions. He was taken and beheaded.

The ſeverity of this procedure, whilſt it terrified every body, drew no odium upon the governor, who acted clearly without prejudice or ſelf-intereſt. They looked on theſe executions like judgments from heaven, which afflict us bitterly, but leave no room for murmur or complaint againſt the hand that inflicts them. To the followers of Pizarro, who valued themſelves on their late ſervice, and murmured that they were not rewarded better than he thought they deſerved, he ſhewed little favour. He told them he could well diſtinguiſh between what was done out of a ſpirit of party, and what proceeded from a principle of loyalty to their ſovereign; that they might look upon themſelves as very happy that he ſuffered their laſt action to obliterate the memory of all their others. In ſhort, he proceeded with ſuch conſtancy, that the Spaniards were reduced to an entire ſubjection, and the Indians treated by them as fellow-ſubjects and fellow-creatures. The clergy he made to attend diligently to the duty of their function,

and to the converſion of the Indians, rather than to the acquiſition of their gold. He modelled the adminiſtration of juſtice in the exacteſt manner. He founded ſeveral towns, and eſtabliſhed ſchools and colleges in them, and placed the royal revenues on ſuch a footing, that the conqueſt of Peru became immediately a great public advantage, which formerly was little more than an object of private plunder. But, whilſt he remained himſelf poor among ſome of the richeſt confiſcations that ever were made, and whilſt he enriched the royal treaſury with moſt prodigious remittances, the great men at court received no preſents. This induced them to get a number of judges appointed, whoſe authority over-ruled that of Caſtro. The end was anſwered. Diſputes aroſe; the colony was unſettled; appeals and complaints innumerable came home, and preſents from all ſides. But what anſwered the preſent end of the courtiers, was near ſtopping up the ſpring of bribery for the future. In the confuſion that aroſe, from ſuch claſhing juriſdictions and the ſchemes of men intent upon their own intereſts, it was not hard for Gonzalo, the brother of the famous Pizarro, to avail himſelf of the general diſcontent, and to ſet himſelf at the head of a party.

It was now no longer a diſpute between governors about the bounds of their juriſdictions; Gonzalo Pizarro only paid a nominal ſubmiſ-

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ſion to the emperor. He ſtrengthened daily, and even went ſo far as to behead a vice-roy who was ſent to curb him. There was a fleet at this time in the South-Seas, and he had addreſs enough to gain the admiral to his intereſts; by which means he was able to over-awe the coaſt of Mexico, and prevent any force coming againſt him from that part. He even entertained hopes of gaining the Spaniards in that kingdom to join in his revolt.

The court, juſtly alarmed at this progreſs, having felt the ill effect of ſending men who were recommended to their poſts by importunity and cabal, as they had experienced the beneficial conſequences of employing perſons whoſe character only pleaded for them, ſent a licentiate in divinity, called Peter de la Gaſca, a man differing only from Caſtro, by being of a milder and more inſinuating behaviour; but with the ſame love of juſtice, the ſame greatneſs of ſoul, and the ſame diſintereſted ſpirit. This mildneſs of character ſuited the circumſtances of the times, as well as the rigid juſtice of Caſtro did thoſe in which he was appointed; for, as the revolt was now almoſt general, he could find no friends but ſuch as he could make; becauſe, though he was inveſted with the ampleſt authority from Spain, he neither carried men to enforce it, nor money; and the whole ſucceſs of the expedition reſted ſolely in his own capacity.

When he arrived in Mexico, he declared that his was a peaceable profeſſion; that he came not to exerciſe ſeverities, but to heal by gentle meaſures the effects of thoſe which were formerly exerciſed. He even wrote a very obliging letter to Pizarro, perſuading him to ſubmit, and offering him a free pardon for himſelf and his aſſociates. In the mean time, he was not wanting in more vigorous meaſures; but, by his engaging addreſs and the reputation of his probity, raiſed large ſums of money, and ſome hundreds of men. Pizarro, puffed up by his ſucceſs, received the ambaſſador with great haughtineſs, and ſent his anſwer, which was likewiſe that of his aſſociates, by the admiral; it was, in effect, that neither would he yield up his government, nor would they ſubmit to have any other governor. The admiral had inſtructions to try what bribery would do, and, if that failed, to fire the city of Panama, and bring off the new vice-roy priſoner. However, during their conferences, the affair took abſolutely another turn, and the admiral, inſtead of conveying Gaſca a priſoner to Peru, tranſported him thither with all his forces, returning to his allegiance himſelf, and perſuading all his adherents to be hearty in the royal cauſe. The viceroy did not at all alter the profeſſions and behaviour he had uſed in Mexico; but, every where proclaiming peace and pardon at the head of a powerful force, he drew the ci-

ties of Lima and Cuſco from the party of Pizarro; who, finding himſelf obliged to evacuate the moſt conſiderable places of ſtrength, with very unequal forces hazarded a battle, in which he was made priſoner. He was ſoon after condemned and executed, with thoſe who had been the chief inſtruments of his rebellion.

Such an ill ſtar governed all thoſe who had a ſhare in the reduction of Peru! Almagro beheaded; his ſon ſharing the ſame fate; Pizarro murdered in his own palace; his brother Ferdinand kept a priſoner twenty-three years; and his other brother Gonzalo, as we have juſt ſeen, ſuffering death as a traitor. The new governor, having by neceſſary ſeverities quieted his province, took effectual care to heal its diſorders by the arts of peace, and to complete what Caſtro had been obliged to leave unfiniſhed. He ſettled the civil government, the army, and the mines, upon ſuch a baſis as made the province worthy to be plundered by future viceroys. He carried over two millions to the royal treaſury, paid all his debts, and ſate down as poor in Spain as he had left it.

The reduction of the great empires of Peru and Mexico makes almoſt the only thing very much worth inſiſting upon in the American hiſtory. A few ſkirmiſhes with a ſavage people, and ſome voyages and diſcoveries exactly reſembling each other, changing only the names

and ſituations, is the matter, which, in my opinion, unprofitably fills ſo many volumes, and contains very little of either curioſity or inſtruction. However, when I come to treat of the ſeveral European ſettlements particularly, I ſhall not omit to mention any thing in their hiſtory that contains either the one or the other.

End of the FIRST PART.

PART II.

The Manners of the Americans.

CHAP. I.

The perſons of the Americans. Their dreſs and way of living. Their manner of converſing. Their hoſpitality. Their temper. Their religion and ſuperſtitions. Their medicine.

THE Aborigines of America, throughout the whole extent of the two vaſt continents which they inhabit, and amongſt the infinite number of nations and tribes into which they are divided, differ very little from each other in their manners and cuſtoms; and they all form a very ſtriking picture of the moſt diſtant antiquity. Whoever conſiders the Americans of this day, not only ſtudies the manners of a remote preſent nation, but he ſtudies, in ſome meaſure, the antiquities

of all nations; from which no mean lights may be thrown upon many parts of the ancient authors, both ſacred and profane. The learned Lafitau has laboured this point with great ſucceſs, in a work which deſerves to be read amongſt us much more than I find it is.

The people of America are tall, and ſtrait in their limbs beyond the proportion of moſt nations; their bodies are ſtrong; but of a ſpecies of ſtrength rather fitted to endure much hardſhip, than to continue long at any ſervile work, by which they are quickly conſumed; it is the ſtrength of a beaſt of prey, rather than that of a beaſt of burthen. Their bodies and heads are flattiſh, the effect of art; their features are regular, but their countenances fierce; their hair long, black, lank, and as ſtrong as that of a horſe. No beards. The colour of their ſkin a reddiſh brown, admired amongſt them, and improved by the conſtant uſe of bear's fat and paint.

When the Europeans firſt came into America, they found the people quite naked, except thoſe parts, which it is common for the moſt uncultivated people to conceal. Since that time they have generally a coarſe blanket to cover them, which they buy from us. The whole faſhion of their lives is of a piece; hardy, poor, and ſqualid; and their education from their infancy is ſolely directed to fit their

bodies for this mode of life, and to form their minds to inflict and to endure the greateſt evils. Their only occupations are hunting and war. Agriculture is left to the women. Merchandize they contemn. When their hunting ſeaſon is paſt, which they go through with much patience, and in which they exert great ingenuity, they paſs the reſt of their time in an entire indolence. They ſleep half the day in their huts, they loiter and jeſt among their friends, and they obſerve no bounds or decency in their eating and drinking. Before we diſcovered them, they had no ſpirituous liquors; but now, the acquirement of theſe is what gives a ſpur to their induſtry, and enjoyment to their repoſe. This is the principal end they purſue in their treaties with us; and from this they ſuffer inexpreſſible calamities; for, having once begun to drink, they can preſerve no meaſures, but continue a ſucceſſion of drunkenneſs as long as their means of procuring liquor laſts. In this condition they lie expoſed on the earth to all the inclemency of the ſeaſons, which waſtes them by a train of the moſt fatal diſorders; they periſh in rivers and marſhes; they tumble into the fire; they quarrel, and very frequently murder each other; and, in ſhort, exceſs in drinking, which with us is rather immoral than very deſtructive, amongſt this uncivilized people, who have not art enough to

guard

guard againſt the conſequence of their vices, is a public calamity. The few amongſt them, who live free from this evil, enjoy the reward of their temperance in a robuſt and healthy old age. The diſorders which a complicated luxury has introduced, and ſupports in Europe, are ſtrangers here.

The character of the Indians is ſtriking. They are grave even to ſadneſs in their deportment upon any ſerious occaſion; obſervant of thoſe in company; reſpectful to the old; of a temper cool and deliberate; by which they are never in haſte to ſpeak before they have thought well upon the matter, and are ſure the perſon who ſpoke before them has finiſhed all he had to ſay. They have therefore the greateſt contempt for the vivacity of the Europeans, who interrupt each other, and frequently ſpeak all together. Nothing is more edifying than their behaviour in their public councils and aſſemblies. Every man there is heard in his turn, according as his years, his wiſdom, or his ſervices to his country, have ranked him. Not a word, not a whiſper, not a murmur, is heard from the reſt while he ſpeaks. No indecent condemnation, no ill-timed applauſe. The younger ſort attend for their inſtruction. Here they learn the hiſtory of their nation; here they are inflamed with the ſongs of thoſe who celebrate the warlike actions of their anceſtors; and here they are

taught

taught what are the intereſts of their country, and how to purſue them.

There is no people amongſt whom the laws of hoſpitality are more ſacred, or executed with more generoſity and good-will. Their houſes, their proviſion, even their young women, are not enough to oblige a gueſt. To thoſe of their own nation they are likewiſe very humane and beneficent. Has any one of them ſucceeded ill in his hunting? has his harveſt failed? or is his houſe burned? He feels no other effect of his misfortune, than that it gives him an opportunity to experience the benevolence and regard of his fellow-citizens, who for that purpoſe have all things almoſt in common. But to the enemies of his country, or to thoſe who have privately offended, the American is implacable. He conceals his ſentiments, he appears reconciled, until by ſome treachery or ſurprize he has an opportunity of executing an horrible revenge. No length of time is ſufficient to allay his reſentment; no diſtance of place great enough to protect the object; he croſſes the ſteepeſt mountains, he pierces the moſt impracticable foreſts, and traverſes the moſt hideous bogs and deſerts for ſeveral hundreds of miles, bearing the inclemency of the ſeaſons, the fatigue of the expedition, the extremes of hunger and thirſt, with patience and chearfulneſs, in hopes of ſurprizing his enemy, on whom

he exerciſes the moſt ſhocking barbarities, even to the eating of his fleſh. To ſuch extremes do the Indians puſh their friendſhip or their enmity; and ſuch indeed in general is the character of all ſtrong and uncultivated minds.

Notwithſtanding this ferocity, no people have their anger, or at leaſt the ſhew of their anger, more under their command. From their infancy they are formed with care to endure ſcoffs, taunts, blows, and every ſort of inſult patiently, or at leaſt with a compoſed countenance. This is one of the principal objects of their education. They eſteem nothing ſo unworthy a man of ſenſe and conſtancy, as a peeviſh temper, and a proneneſs to a ſudden and raſh anger. And this ſo far has an effect, that quarrels happen as rarely amongſt them when they are not intoxicated in liquor, as does the chief cauſe of all quarrels, hot and abuſive language. But human nature is ſuch, that, as virtues may with proper management be engrafted upon almoſt all ſorts of vicious paſſions, ſo vices naturally grow out of the beſt diſpoſitions, and are the conſequence of thoſe regulations, that produce and ſtrengthen them. This is the reaſon that, when the paſſions of the Americans are rouſed, being ſhut up, as it were, and converging into a narrow point, they become more furious; they are

are dark, ſullen, treacherous and unappeaſable.

A people who live by hunting, who inhabit mean cottages, and are given to change the place of their habitation, are ſeldom very religious. The Americans have ſcarce any temples. We hear indeed of ſome, and thoſe extremely magnificent, amongſt the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians; but the Mexicans and Peruvians were comparatively civilized nations. Thoſe we know at preſent in any part of America are no way comparable to them. Some appear to have very little idea of God. Others entertain better notions; they hold the exiſtence of the Supreme Being, eternal and incorruptible, who has power over all. Satisfied with owning this, which is traditionary amongſt them, they give him no ſort of worſhip. There are indeed nations in America, who ſeem to pay ſome religious homage to the ſun and moon; and, as moſt of them have a notion of ſome inviſible beings, who continually intermeddle in their affairs, they diſcourſe much of demons, nymphs, fairies, or beings equivalent. They have ceremonies too, that ſeem to ſhew they had once a more regular form of religious worſhip; for they make a ſort of oblation of their firſt fruits; obſerve certain ceremonies at the full moon; and have in their feſtivals many things that very probably came from a religious

origin,

origin, though they perform them as things handed down to them from their anceſtors, without knowing or enquiring about the reaſon. Though without religion, they abound in ſuperſtitions; as it is common for thoſe to do, whoſe ſubſiſtence depends, like theirs, upon fortune. Great obſervers of omens and dreams, and pryers into futurity with great eagerneſs, they abound in diviners, augurs, and magicians, whom they rely much upon in all affairs that concern them, whether of health, war, or hunting. Their phyſic, which may rather be called magic, is entirely in the hands of the prieſts. The ſick are naturally prone to ſuperſtition, and human help in ſuch caſes is generally found ſo weak, that it is no wonder that, in all countries and ages, people have amuſed themſelves, in that diſmal circumſtance of human nature, with the hope of ſupernatural aſſiſtance.

Their phyſicians generally treat them, in whatever diſorder, in the ſame way. That is, they firſt encloſe them in a narrow cabbin, in the midſt of which is a ſtone red hot; on this they throw water, until the patient is well ſoaked with the warm vapour and his own ſweat; then they hurry him from the bagnio, and plunge him ſuddenly into the next river. This is repeated as often as they judge neceſſary; and by this method extraordinary cures

are ſometimes performed. But it frequently happens too, that this rude method kills the patient in the very operation, eſpecially in the new diſorders brought to them from Europe; and it is partly owing to this manner of proceeding, that the ſmall-pox has proved ſo much more fatal to them than to us. It muſt not be denied that they have the uſe of ſome ſpecifics of wonderful efficacy; the power of which they however attribute to the magical ceremonies with which they are conſtantly adminiſtered. And it is remarkable, that purely by an application of herbs they frequently cure wounds, which with us refuſe to yield to the moſt judicious methods.

CHAP. II.

The government of the Americans. Their councils. Their orators. Their feaſts. Their manner of adminiſtering juſtice.

LIBERTY, in its fulleſt extent, is the darling paſſion of the Americans. To this they ſacrifice every thing. This is what makes a life of uncertainty and want ſupportable to them; and their education is directed in ſuch a manner as to cheriſh this diſpoſition to the utmoſt. They are indulged in all manner of liberty; they are never upon any account chaſtiſed with blows; they are rarely

even

even chidden. Reaſon, they ſay, will guide their children when they come to the uſe of it; and before that time their faults cannot be very great: but blows might abate the free and martial ſpirit which makes the glory of their people, and might render the ſenſe of honour duller, by the habit of a ſlaviſh motive to action. When they are grown up, they experience nothing like command, dependence, or ſubordination; even ſtrong perſuaſion is induſtriouſly forborn by thoſe who have influence amongſt them, as what may look too like command, and appear a ſort of violence offered to their will.

On the ſame principle, they know no puniſhment but death. They lay no fines, becauſe they have no way of exacting them from free men; and the death, which they ſometimes inflict, is rather a conſequence of a ſort of war declared againſt a public enemy, than an act of judicial power executed on a citizen or ſubject. This free diſpoſition is general; and, though ſome tribes are found in America with an head, whom we call a king, his power is rather perſuaſive than coercive, and he is reverenced as a father, more than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no priſons, no officers of juſtice. The other forms, which may be conſidered as a ſort of ariſtocracy, have no more power. This latter is the more common in North America.

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In ſome tribes there are a kind of nobility, who, when they come to years of diſcretion, are entitled to a place and vote in the councils of their nation: the reſt are excluded. But amongſt the five nations, or Iroquois, the moſt celebrated commonwealth of North-America, and in ſome other nations, there is no other qualification abſolutely neceſſary for their head men, but age, with experience and ability in their affairs. However, there is generally in every tribe ſome particular ſtocks which they reſpect, and who are conſidered in ſome ſort as their chiefs, unleſs they ſhew themſelves unworthy of that rank; as among the tribes themſelves there are ſome, who, on account of their number or bravery, have a pre-eminence over the reſt; which, as it is not exacted with pride and inſolence, nor maintained by tyranny on one hand, ſo it is never diſputed on the other when it is due.

Their great council is compoſed of theſe heads of tribes and families, with ſuch whoſe capacity has elevated them to the ſame degree of conſideration. They meet in a houſe, which they have in each of their towns for the purpoſe, upon every ſolemn occaſion, to receive ambaſſadors, to deliver them an anſwer, to ſing their traditionary war ſongs, or to commemorate their dead. Theſe councils are public. Here they propoſe all ſuch matters concerning the ſtate, as have already been

digeſted in the ſecret councils, at which none but the head men aſſiſt. Here it is that their orators are employed, and diſplay thoſe talents which diſtinguiſh them for eloquence and knowledge of public buſineſs; in both of which ſome of them are admirable. None elſe ſpeak in their public councils; theſe are their ambaſſadors, and theſe are the commiſſioners who are appointed to treat of peace or alliance with other nations. The chief ſkill of theſe orators conſiſts in giving an artful turn to affairs, and in expreſſing their thoughts in a bold figurative manner, much ſtronger than we could bear in this part of the world, and with geſtures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expreſſive.

When any buſineſs of conſequence is tranſacted, they appoint a feaſt upon the occaſion, of which almoſt the whole nation partakes. There are leſſer feaſts upon matters of leſs general concern, to which none are invited but they who are engaged in that particular buſineſs. At theſe feaſts it is againſt all rule to leave any thing; ſo that if they cannot conſume all, what remains is thrown into the fire; for they look upon fire as a thing ſacred, and in all probability theſe feaſts were anciently ſacrifices. Before the entertainment is ready, the principal perſon begins a ſong, the ſubject of which is the fabulous or real hiſtory of their nation, the remarkable events

which

which have happened, and whatever matters may make for their honour or inſtruction. The others ſing in their turn. They have dances too, with which they accompany their ſongs, chiefly of a martial kind; and no ſolemnity or public buſineſs is carried on without ſuch ſongs and dances. Every thing is tranſacted amongſt them with much ceremony; which in a barbarous people is neceſſary; for nothing elſe could hinder all their affairs from going to confuſion; beſides that, the ceremonies contribute to fix all tranſactions the better in their memory.

To help their memory, they have bits of ſmall ſhells or beads of different colours, which have all a different meaning, according to their colour or arrangement. At the end of every matter they diſcourſe upon, when they treat with a foreign ſtate, they deliver one of theſe belts. If they ſhould omit this ceremony, what they ſay paſſes for nothing. Theſe belts are carefully treaſured up in each town, and they ſerve for the public records of the nation; and to theſe they occaſionally have recourſe, when any conteſts happen between them and their neighbours. Of late, as the matter of which theſe belts is made is grown ſcarce, they often give ſome ſkin in the place of the wampum, for ſo they call theſe beads in their language, and receive in return preſents of a more valuable nature; for neither

will they conſider what our commiſſioners ſay to be of any weight, unleſs ſome preſent accompanies each propoſal.

The ſame council of their elders which regulates whatever regards the external policy of the ſtate, has the charge likewiſe of its internal peace and order. Their ſuits are few, and quickly decided, having neither property nor art enough to render them perplexed or tedious. Criminal matters come before the ſame juriſdiction, when they are ſo flagrant as to become a national concern. In ordinary caſes, the crime is either revenged or compromiſed by the parties concerned. If a murder is committed, the family which has loſt a relation prepares to retaliate on that of the offender. They often kill the murderer, and when this happens, the kindred of the laſt perſon ſlain look upon themſelves to be as much injured, and think themſelves as much juſtified in taking vengeance, as if the violence had not begun amongſt themſelves. But, in general, things are determined in a more amicable manner. The offender abſents himſelf; his friends ſend a compliment of condolance to thoſe of the party murdered; preſents are offered, which are rarely refuſed: the head of the family appears, who in a formal ſpeech delivers the preſents, which conſiſt often of above ſixty articles, every one of which is given to cancel ſome part of the offence and

to

to aſſuage the grief of the ſuffering party. With the firſt he ſays, "By this I remove the hatchet from the wound, and make it fall out of the hands of him that is prepared to revenge the injury:" with the ſecond, "I dry up the blood of that wound;" and ſo on, in apt figures, taking away one by one all the ill conſequences of the murder. As uſual, the whole ends in mutual feaſting, ſongs, and dances. If the murder is committed by one of the ſame family, or cabbin, that cabbin has the full right of judgment, without appeal, within itſelf, either to puniſh the guilty with death, or to pardon him, or to force him to give ſome recompence to the wife or children of the ſlain. All this while the ſupreme authority of the nation looks on unconcerned, and never rouſes its ſtrength, nor exerts the fulneſs of a power more revered than felt, but upon ſome ſignal occaſion. Then the power ſeems equal to the occaſion. Every one haſtens to execute the orders of their ſenate; nor ever was any inſtance of diſloyalty or rebellion known amongſt this people. Governed as they are by manners, not by laws; example, education, and the conſtant practice of their ceremonies, give them the moſt tender affection for their country, and inſpire them with a moſt religious regard for their conſtitution, and the cuſtoms of their anceſtors. The want of laws, and of

an univerſal ſtrong coercive power, is not perceived in a narrow ſociety, where every man has his eye upon his neighbour, and where the whole bent of every thing they do is to ſtrengthen thoſe natural ties by which ſociety is principally cemented. Family love, rare amongſt us, is a national virtue amongſt them, of which all partake. Friendſhips there are amongſt them, fit to vie with thoſe of fabulous antiquity; and where ſuch friendſhips are ſeen to grow, the familes concerned congratulate themſelves as upon an acquiſition, that promiſes to them a mutual ſtrength, and to their nation the greateſt honour and advantage.

CHAP. III.

Their mournings for their dead. The feaſt of ſouls. The American women, their occupations. Their marriages and divorces.

THE loſs of any one of their people, whether by a natural death, or by war, is lamented by the whole town he belongs to *. In ſuch circumſtances no buſineſs is taken in hand, however important, nor any rejoicing permitted, however intereſting the

* The towns are ſmall, and, except the affairs of war or ſtate, they have no buſineſs to employ them, for the greateſt part of the year, after the hunting ſeaſon is over.

occaſion, until all the pious ceremonies due to the dead are performed. Theſe are always diſcharged with the greateſt ſolemnity. The dead body is waſhed, anointed, and painted, ſo as in ſome meaſure to abate the horrors of death. Then the women lament the loſs with the moſt bitter cries, and the moſt hideous howling, intermixed with ſongs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceaſed, and thoſe of his anceſtors. The men mourn in a leſs extravagant manner. The whole village attends the body to the grave, which is interred, habited in their moſt ſumptuous ornaments. With the body of the deceaſed are placed his bow and arrows, with what he valued moſt in his life, and proviſions for the long journey he is to take: for they hold the immortality of the ſoul univerſally, but their idea is groſs. Feaſting attends this, as it does every ſolemnity. After the funeral, they who are nearly allied to the deceaſed conceal themſelves in their huts for a conſiderable time, to indulge their grief. The compliments of condolance are never omitted, nor are preſents wanting upon this occaſion. After ſome time they reviſit the grave; they renew their ſorrow; they new clothe the remains of the body, and act over again the ſolemnities of the firſt funeral.

Of all their inſtances of regard to their deceaſed friends, none is ſo ſtriking as what

they call the feaſt of the dead, or the feaſt of ſouls. The day of this ceremony is appointed in the council of their chiefs, who give orders for every thing which may enable them to celebrate it with pomp and magnificence. The riches of the nation are exhauſted on this occaſion, and all their ingenuity diſplayed. The neighbouring people are invited to partake of the feaſt, and to be witneſſes of the ſolemnity. At this time, all who have died ſince the laſt ſolemn feaſt of that kind are taken out of their graves. Thoſe who have been interred at the greateſt diſtance from the villages are diligently ſought for, and brought to this great rendezvous of carcaſſes. It is not difficult to conceive the horror of this general diſ-interment. I cannot paint it in a more lively manner than it is done by Lafitau.

"Without queſtion, ſays he, the opening of theſe tombs diſplays one of the moſt ſtriking ſcenes that can be conceived; this humbling pourtrait of human miſery, in ſo many images of death, wherein ſhe ſeems to take a pleaſure to paint herſelf in a thouſand various ſhapes of horror, in the ſeveral carcaſſes, according to the degree in which corruption has prevailed over them, or the manner in which it has attacked them. Some appear dry and withered; others have a ſort of parchment upon their bones; ſome look as if they were

were baked and then ſmoaked, without any appearance of rottenneſs; ſome are juſt turning towards the point of putrefaction; whilſt others are all ſwarming with worms, and drowned in corruption. I know not which ought to ſtrike us moſt, the horror of ſo ſhocking a ſight, or the tender piety and affection of theſe poor people towards their departed friends; for nothing deſerves our admiration more, than that eager diligence and attention with which they diſcharge this melancholy duty of their tenderneſs; gathering up carefully even the ſmalleſt bones; handling the carcaſſes, diſguſtful as they are, with every thing lotheſome; cleanſing them from the worms, and carrying them upon their ſhoulders through tireſome journies of ſeveral days, without being diſcouraged by their inſupportable ſtench, and without ſuffering any other emotions to ariſe, than thoſe of regret, for having loſt perſons who were ſo dear to them in their lives, and ſo lamented in their death."

This ſtrange feſtival is the moſt magnificent and ſolemn which they have: not only on account of the great concourſe of natives and ſtrangers, and of the pompous re-interment they give to their dead, whom they dreſs in the fineſt ſkins they can get, after having expoſed them ſome time in this pomp; but for the games of all kinds which they celebrate upon

upon the occaſion, in the ſpirit of thoſe which the antient Greeks and Romans celebrated upon ſimilar occaſions.

In this manner do they endeavour to ſooth the calamities of life, by the honours they pay their dead; honours, which are the more chearfully beſtowed, becauſe in his turn each man expects to receive them himſelf. Though amongſt theſe ſavage nations this cuſtom is impreſſed with ſtrong marks of the ferocity of their nature; an honour for the dead, a tender feeling of their abſence, and a revival of their memory, are ſome of the moſt excellent inſtruments for ſmoothing our rugged nature into humanity. In civilized nations ceremonies are leſs practiſed, becauſe other inſtruments for the ſame purpoſes are leſs wanted; but it is certain, a regard for the dead is ancient and univerſal.

Though the women in America have generally the laborious part of the œconomy upon themſelves, yet they are far from being the ſlaves they appear, and are not at all ſubject to the great ſubordination in which they are placed in countries where they ſeem to be more reſpected. On the contrary, all the honours of the nation are on the ſide of the woman. They even hold their councils, and have their ſhare in all deliberations which concern the ſtate; nor are they found inferior to the part they act. Polygamy is practiſed by ſome nations, but it is not general. In moſt they content themſelves with

with one wife; but a divorce is admitted, and for the ſame cauſes that it was allowed amongſt the Jews, Greeks, and Romans. No nation of the Americans is without a regular marriage, in which there are many ceremonies; the principal of which is, the bride's preſenting the bridegroom with a plate of their corn.

Incontinent before wedlock, after marriage the chaſtity of their women is remarkable. The puniſhment of the adultreſs, as well as that of the adulterer, is in the hands of the huſband himſelf; and it is often ſevere, as inflicted by one who is at once the party and the judge. Their marriages are not fruitful, ſeldom producing above two or three children, but they are brought forth with leſs pain than our women ſuffer upon ſuch occaſions, and with little conſequent weakneſs. Probably, that ſevere life, which both ſexes lead, is not favourable to procreation. And the habit unmarried women have of procuring abortions, in which they rarely fail, makes them the more unfit for bearing children afterwards. This is one of the reaſons of the depopulation of America; for whatever loſſes they ſuffer, either by epidemical diſeaſes or by war, are repaired ſlowly.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Indian manner of preparing for war. The ſongs and dances. Their taking the field. Their method of diſcovering and attacking the enemy. Their cruel treatment of their priſoners of war.

ALMOST the ſole occupation of the American is war, or ſuch an exerciſe as qualifies him for it. His whole glory conſiſts in this; and no man is at all conſidered until he has increaſed the ſtrength of his country with a captive, or adorned his houſe with a ſcalp of one of its enemies. When the Antients reſolve upon war, they do not always declare what nation it is they are determined to attack; that the enemy, upon whom they really intend to fall, may be off his guard. Nay, they even ſometimes let years paſs over without committing any act of hoſtility, that the vigilance of all may be unbent by the long continuance of the watch, and the uncertainty of the danger. In the mean time they are not idle at home. The principal captain ſummons the youth of the town to which he belongs; the war kettle is ſet on the fire; the war ſongs and dances commence; the hatchet is ſent to all the villages of the ſame nation, and to all its allies; the

the fire catches; the war ſongs are heard in all parts; and the moſt hideous howlings continue without intermiſſion day and night over that whole tract of country. The women add their cries to thoſe of the men, lamenting thoſe whom they have either loſt in war or by a natural death, and demanding their places to be ſupplied from their enemies; ſtimulating the young men by a ſenſe of ſhame, which women know how to excite in the ſtrongeſt manner, and can take the beſt advantage of when excited.

When by theſe, and every other means, the fury of the nation is raiſed to the greateſt height, and all long to embrue their hands in blood, the war captain prepares the feaſt, which conſiſts of dogs fleſh. All that partake of this feaſt receive little billets, which are ſo many engagements which they take to be faithful to each other, and obedient to their commander. None are forced to the war; but when they have accepted this billet, they are looked upon as liſted, and it is then death to recede. All the warriors in this aſſembly have their faces blackened with charcoal, intermixed with daſhes and ſtreaks of vermillion, which give them a moſt horrid appearance. Their hair is dreſſed up in an odd manner, with feathers of various kinds. In this aſſembly, which is preparatory to their military expedition, the chief begins the war

ſong; which having continued for ſome time, he raiſes his voice to the higheſt pitch, and, turning off ſuddenly to a ſort of prayer, addreſſes himſelf to the god of war, whom they call Areſkoni: "I invoke thee, ſays he, to be favourable to my enterprize! I invoke thy care upon me and my family! I invoke ye likewiſe, all ye ſpirits and demons good and evil! All ye that are in the ſkies, or on the earth, or under the earth, to pour deſtruction upon our enemies, and to return me and my companions ſafely to our country." All the warriors join him in this prayer with ſhouts and acclamations. The captain renews his ſong, ſtrikes his club againſt the ſtakes of his cottage, and begins the war dance, accompanied with the ſhouts of all his companions, which continue as long as he dances.

The day appointed for their departure being arrived, they take leave of their friends; they change their clothes, or whatever moveables they have, in token of mutual friendſhip; their wives and female relations go out before them, and attend at ſome diſtance from the town. The warriors march out all dreſt in their fineſt apparel and moſt ſhowy ornaments, regularly one after another, for they never march in rank. The chief walks ſlowly on before them, ſinging the death ſong, whilſt the reſt obſerve the moſt profound ſilence. When they come up to their women,

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they deliver up to them all their finery, put on their worſt clothes, and then proceed as their commander thinks fit.

Their motives for engaging in a war are rarely thoſe views which excite us to it. They have no other end but the glory of the victory, or the benefit of the ſlaves which it enables them to add to their nation, or ſacrifice to their brutal fury; and it is rare that they take any pains to give their wars even a colour of juſtice. It is no way uncommon among them for the young men to make feaſts of dogs fleſh, and dances, in ſmall parties, in the midſt of the moſt profound peace. They fall ſometimes on one nation, and ſometimes on another, and ſurprize ſome of their hunters, whom they ſcalp and bring home as priſoners. Their ſenators wink at this, or rather encourage it, as it tends to keep up the martial ſpirit of their people, inures them to watchfulneſs and hardſhip, and gives them an early taſte for blood.

The qualities in an Indian war are vigilance and attention, to give and to avoid a ſurprize; and patience and ſtrength, to endure the intolerable fatigues and hardſhips which always attend it. The nations of America are at an immenſe diſtance from each other, with a vaſt deſart frontier, and hid in the boſom of hideous, and almoſt boundleſs foreſts. Theſe muſt be traverſed before they meet

meet an enemy, who is often at ſuch a diſtance as might be ſuppoſed to prevent either quarrel or danger. But, notwithſtanding the ſecrecy of the deſtination of the party that firſt moves, the enemy has frequent notice of it, is prepared for the attack, and ready to take advantage in the ſame manner of the leaſt want of vigilance in the aggreſſors. Their whole art of war conſiſts in this: they never fight in the open field, but upon ſome very extraordinary occaſions; not from cowardice, for they are brave; but they deſpiſe this method, as unworthy an able warrior, and as an affair in which fortune governs more than prudence. The principal things which help them to find out their enemies, are the ſmoke of their fires, which they ſmell at a diſtance almoſt incredible; and their tracks, in the diſcovery and diſtinguiſhing of which, they are poſſeſſed of a ſagacity equally aſtoniſhing; for they will tell in the footſteps, which to us would ſeem moſt confuſed, the number of men that have paſſed, and the length of time ſince they have paſſed; they even go ſo far as to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral nations by the different marks of their feet, and to perceive footſteps, where we could diſtinguiſh nothing leſs. A mind diligently intent upon one thing, and exerciſed by long experience, will go lengths at firſt view ſcarcely credible.

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But as they who are attacked have the ſame knowledge, and know how to draw the ſame advantages from it, their great addreſs is to baffle each other in theſe points. On the expedition they light no fire to warm themſelves, or prepare their victuals, but ſubſiſt merely on the miſerable pittance of ſome of their meal mixed with water; they lie cloſe to the ground all day, and march only in night. As they march in their uſual order in files, he that cloſes the rear diligently covers his own tracks, and thoſe of all who preceded him, with leaves. If any ſtream occurs in their route, they march in it for a conſiderable way to foil their purſuers. When they halt to reſt and refreſh themſelves, ſcouts are ſent out on every ſide to reconnoitre the country, and beat up every place where they ſuſpect an enemy may lie perdue. In this manner they often enter a village, whilſt the ſtrength of the nation is employed in hunting, and maſſacre all the helpleſs old men, women, and children, or make priſoners as many as they can manage, or have ſtrength enough to be uſeful to their nation.

They often cut off ſmall parties of men in their huntings; but when they diſcover an army of their enemies, their way is to throw themſelves flat on their faces amongſt the withered leaves, the colour of which their bodies are painted to reſemble exactly. They gene-

rally let a part paſs unmoleſted; and then, riſing a little, they take aim, for they are excellent markſmen, and ſetting up a moſt tremendous ſhout, which they call the war-cry, they pour a ſtorm of muſket-bullets upon the enemy; for they have long ſince laid aſide the uſe of arrows: the party attacked returns the ſame cry. Every man in haſte covers himſelf with a tree, and returns the fire of the adverſe party, as ſoon as they raiſe themſelves from the ground to give the ſecond fire.

After fighting ſome time in this manner, the party which thinks it has the advantage ruſhes out of its cover, with ſmall axes in their hands, which they dart with great addreſs and dexterity; they redouble their cries, intimidating their enemies with menaces, and encouraging each other with a boaſtful diſplay of their own brave actions. Thus being come hand to hand, the conteſt is ſoon decided; and the conquerors ſatiate their ſavage fury with the moſt ſhocking inſults and barbarities to the dead, biting their fleſh, tearing the ſcalp from their heads, and wallowing in their blood like wild beaſts.

The fate of their priſoners is the moſt ſevere of all. During the greateſt part of their journey homewards they ſuffer no injury. But when they arrive at the territories of the conquering ſtate, or at thoſe of their allies, the people from every village meet them, and think

think they ſhew their attachment to their friends by their barbarous treatment of the unhappy priſoners; ſo that when they come to their ſtation, they are wounded and bruiſed in a terrible manner. The conquerors enter the town in triumph. The war-captain waits upon the head-men, and in a low voice gives them a circumſtantial account of ever particular of the expedition, of the damage the enemy has ſuffered, and his own loſſes in it. This done, the public orator relates the whole to the people. Before they yield to the joy which the victory occaſions, they lament the friends which they have loſt in the purſuit of it. The parties moſt nearly concerned are afflicted apparently with a deep and real ſorrow. But, by one of thoſe ſtrange turns of the human mind, faſhioned to any thing by cuſtom, as if they were diſciplined in their grief, upon the ſignal for rejoicing, in a moment all tears are wiped from their eyes, and they ruſh into an extravagance and phrenzy of joy for their victory.

In the mean time the fate of the priſoners remains undecided, until the old men meet, and determine concerning their diſtribution. It is uſual to offer a ſlave to each houſe that has loſt a friend; giving the preference according to the greatneſs of the loſs. The perſon who has taken the captive attends him to the door of the cottage to which he is delivered, and

with him gives a belt of wampum, to ſhew that he has fulfilled the purpoſe of the expedition, in ſupplying the loſs of a citizen. They view the preſent which is made them for ſome time; and, according as they think him or her, for it is the ſame, proper or improper for the buſineſs of the family, or as they take a capricious liking or diſpleaſure to the countenance of the victim, or in proportion to their natural barbarity or their reſentment for their loſſes, they deſtine concerning him, to receive him into the family, or ſentence him to death. If the latter, they throw away the belt with indignation. Then it is no longer in the power of any one to ſave him. The nation is aſſembled as upon ſome great ſolemnity. A ſcaffold is raiſed, and the priſoner tied to the ſtake. Inſtantly he opens his death ſong, and prepares for the enſuing ſcene of cruelty with the moſt undaunted courage. On the other ſide, they prepare to put it to the utmoſt proof, with every torment, which the mind of man ingenious in miſchief can invent. They begin at the extremities of his body, and gradually approach the trunk. One plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one; another takes a finger into his mouth, and tears off the fleſh with his teeth; a third thruſts the finger, mangled as it is, into the bole of a pipe made red hot, which he ſmoaks like tobacco. Then they pound his

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toes and fingers to pieces between two ſtones; they cut circles about his joints, and gaſhes in the fleſhy parts of his limbs, which they ſear immediately with red-hot irons, cutting and ſearing alternately; they pull off this fleſh thus mangled and roaſted, bit by bit, devouring it with greedineſs, and ſmearing their faces with the blood, in an enthuſiaſm of horror and fury. When they have thus torn off the fleſh, they twiſt the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and ſnapping them; whilſt others are employed in pulling and extending the limbs themſelves, in every way that can increaſe the torment. This continues often five or ſix hours together. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, to think what new torments they ſhall inflict, and to refreſh the ſtrength of the ſufferer, who, wearied out with ſuch a variety of unheard-of torments, often falls immediately into ſo profound a ſleep, that they are obliged to apply the fire to awaken him, and renew his ſufferings.

He is again faſtened to the ſtake, and again they renew their cruelty; they ſtick him all over with ſmall matches of wood, that eaſily takes fire, but burn ſlowly; they continually run ſharp reeds into every part of his body; they drag out his teeth with pincers, and thruſt out his eyes; and laſtly, after having burned his fleſh from the bones with ſlow

fires; after having ſo mangled the body that it is all but one wound; after having mutilated his face in ſuch a manner as to carry nothing human in it; after having peeled the ſkin from the head, and poured a heap of red-hot coals or boiling water on the naked ſkull; they once more unbind the wretch, who, blind and ſtaggering with pain and weakneſs, aſſaulted and pelted upon every ſide with clubs and ſtones, now up, now down, falling into their fires at every ſtep, runs hither and thither, until one of the chiefs, whether out of compaſſion or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life with a club or a dagger. The body is then put into the kettle, and this barbarous employment is ſucceeded by a feaſt as barbarous.

The women, forgetting the human as well as the female nature, and transformed into ſomething worſe than furies, act their parts, and even outdo the men, in this ſcene of horror. The principal perſons of the country ſit round the ſtake ſmoaking and looking on without the leaſt emotion. What is moſt extraordinary, the ſufferer himſelf, in the little intervals of his torments, ſmoaks too, appears unconcerned, and converſes with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed, during the whole time of his execution, there ſeems a conteſt between him and them which ſhall exceed, they in inflicting the moſt horrid

pains, or he in enduring them with a firmneſs and conſtancy almoſt above human. Not a groan, not a ſigh, not a diſtortion of countenance, eſcapes him; he poſſeſſes his mind entirely in the midſt of his torments; he recounts his own exploits, he informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death; and, tho' his reproaches exaſperate them to a perfect madneſs of rage and fury, he continues his reproaches even of their ignorance in the art of tormenting, pointing out himſelf more exquiſite methods, and more ſenſible parts of the body to be afflicted. The women have this part of courage as well as the men; and it is as rare for any Indian to behave otherwiſe, as it would be for an European to ſuffer as an Indian.

I do not dwell upon theſe circumſtances of cruelty, which ſo degrade human nature, out of choice; but, as all who mention the cuſtoms of this people have inſiſted upon their behaviour in this reſpect very particularly, and as it ſeems neceſſary to give a true idea of their character, I did not chuſe to omit it. It ſerves to ſhew too, in the ſtrongeſt light, to what an inconceivable degree of barbarity the paſſions of men let looſe will carry them. It will point out to us the advantages of a religion that teaches a compaſ-

ſion to our enemies, which is neither known nor practiſed in other religions; and it will make us more ſenſible, than ſome appear to be, of the value of commerce, the art of a civilized life, and the lights of literature; which, if they have abated the force of ſome of the natural virtues by the luxury which attends them, have taken out likewiſe the ſting of our natural vices, and ſoftened the ferocity of the human race without enervating their courage.

On the other hand, the conſtancy of the ſufferers in this terrible ſcene ſhews the wonderful power of an early inſtitution, and a ferocious thirſt of glory, which makes men imitate and exceed what philoſophy, or even religion, can effect.

The priſoners who have the happineſs to pleaſe thoſe to whom they are offered, have a fortune altogether oppoſite to that of thoſe who are condemned. They are adopted into the family, they are accepted in the place of the father, ſon, or huſband, that is loſt; and they have no other mark of their captivity, but that they are not ſuffered to return to their own nation. To attempt this would be certain death. The principal purpoſe of the war is to recruit in this manner; for which reaſon a general, who loſes many of his men, though he ſhould conquer, is little better than diſgraced at home; becauſe the

end of the war was not anſwered. They are therefore extremely careful of their men, and never chuſe to attack but with a very undoubted ſuperiority, either in number or ſituation.

The ſcalps, which they value ſo much, are the trophies of their bravery; with theſe they adorn their houſes, which are eſteemed in proportion as this ſort of ſpoils is more numerous. They have ſolemn days appointed, upon which the young men gain a new name or title of honour from their head-men; and theſe titles are given according to the qualities of the perſon, and his performances; of which theſe ſcalps are the evidence. This is all the reward they receive for the dangers of the war and the fatigues of many campaigns, ſevere almoſt beyond credit. They think it is abundantly ſufficient to have a name given by their governors; men of merit themſelves, and judges of it; a name reſpected by their countrymen, and terrible to their enemies. There are many other things fit to engage the curioſity, and even afford matter of inſtructive reflection, in the manners of this barbarous people; but theſe ſeem to be the moſt ſtriking, and fitteſt to be inſiſted on in a work which is to give a general idea of America. The preſent ſettlements, their commerce and productions, ought to be allowed their proper room. In which I propoſe to treat, firſt of the

the Spaniſh colonies, as the firſt diſcovered and largeſt object, and that in which the reſt of Europe, though excluded, is the moſt concerned. The Portugueſe, as neareſt in place and rank, ſhall be ſecond. The French ſhall next be conſidered. The Engliſh ſhall be reſerved to the laſt, as the moſt important to ourſelves.

End of the SECOND PART.

PART

PART III.

SPANISH AMERICA.

CHAP. I.

A general deſcription of America.

HAVING deſcribed, with as much conciſeneſs as the ſubject would bear, the manners of the original inhabitants of America, as we had before that related the moſt remarkable adventures of its diſcoverers and conquerors; it will be neceſſary to view more minutely, what and how advantageous a country theſe conqueſts and diſcoveries have added to the world; and what are the views, intereſts, and characters of thoſe who at preſent poſſeſs the greateſt part of that extenſive region.

America extends from the North pole to the fifty-ſeventh degree of South latitude; it

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is upwards of eight thouſand miles in length; it ſees both hemiſpheres; it has two ſummers and a double winter; it enjoys all the variety of climates which the earth affords; it is waſhed by the two great oceans. To the Eaſtward it has the Atlantic ocean, which divides it from Europe and Africa. To the Weſt it has another ocean, the great South-Sea, by which it is disjoined from Aſia. By theſe ſeas it may, and does, carry on a direct commerce with the other three parts of the world. It is compoſed of two vaſt continents, one on the North, the other upon the South, which are joined by the great kingdom of Mexico, which forms a ſort of iſthmus, fifteen hundred miles long, and in one part, at Darien, ſo extremely narrow, as to make the communication between the two oceans by no means difficult. In the great gulph, which is formed between this iſthmus and the Northern and Southern continents, lie an infinite multitude of iſlands, many of them large, moſt of them fertile, and capable of being cultivated to very great advantage.

America in general is not a mountainous country, yet it has the greateſt mountains in the world. The Andes, or Cordilleras, run from North to South along the coaſt of the Pacific ocean. Though for the moſt part within the torrid zone, they are perpetually covered with ſnow, and in their bowels con-

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tain inexhauſtible treaſures. In the province of St. Martha in South America are likewiſe very great mountains, which communicate with the former. In North America we know of none conſiderable, but that long ridge which lies to the back of our ſettlements, which we call the Apalachian, or Allegeney mountains; if that may be at all conſidered as a mountain, which upon one ſide indeed has a very great declivity, but upon the other is nearly on a level with the reſt of the country.

Without compariſon, America is that part of the world which is the beſt watered; and that not only for the ſupport of life, but for the convenience of trade, and the intercourſe of each part with the others. In North America the great river Miſſiſippi, riſing from unknown ſources, runs an immenſe courſe from North to South, and receives the vaſt tribute of the Ohio, the Oubache, and other immenſe rivers, ſcarcely to be poſtponed to the Rhine, or the Danube, navigable almoſt to their very ſources, and laying open the inmoſt receſſes of this continent. Near the heads of theſe are five great lakes, or rather ſeas of freſh water, communicating with each other, and all with the main ocean, by the river St. Laurence, which paſſes through them. Theſe afford ſuch an inlet for commerce as muſt produce the greateſt advantages,

tages, whenever the country adjacent ſhall come to be fully inhabited, and by an induſtrious and civilized people. The Eaſtern ſide of North America, which is our portion, beſides the noble rivers Hudſon, Delaware, Suſquehanna, Patowmack, ſupplies ſeveral others of great depth, length, and commodious navigation. Many parts of our ſettlements are ſo interſected with navigable rivers and creeks, that the planters may be ſaid, without exaggeration, to have each a harbour at his own door.

South America is, if poſſible, in this reſpect, even more fortunate. It ſupplies much the two largeſt rivers in the world, the river of Amazons, and the Rio de la Plata. The firſt, riſing in Peru, not far from the South-Sea, paſſes from Weſt to Eaſt, almoſt quite through the continent of South America, navigable for ſome ſort or other of veſſels all the way, and receiving into its boſom a prodigious number of rivers, all navigable in the ſame manner, and ſo great, that Monſieur Condamine found it often almoſt impoſſible to determine which was the main channel. The Rio de la Plata, riſing in the heart of the country, ſhapes its courſe to the South-Eaſt, and pours ſuch an immenſe flood into the ſea, that it makes it taſte freſh a great many leagues from the ſhore; to ſay nothing of the Oronoquo, which might rank the foremoſt

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amongſt any but the American rivers. The ſoil and products, in ſuch a variety of climates, cannot ſatisfactorily be treated of in a general deſcription; we ſhall, in their places, conſider them particularly.

All America is in the hands of four nations. The Spaniards, who, as they firſt diſcovered it, have the largeſt and richeſt ſhare. All that part of North America, which compoſes the iſthmus of Mexico, and what lies beyond that towards the river Miſſiſippi on the Eaſt, the Pacific ocean to the Weſt and North-weſt; and they poſſeſs all South-America excepting Braſil, which lies between the mouth of the river of Amazons and that of Plata along the Atlantic ocean; this belongs to Portugal. That part of North America which the Spaniards have not, is divided between the Engliſh and French. The Engliſh have all the countries which incircle Hudſon's Bay, and thence in a line all along the Eaſtern ſhore to the thirtieth degree of North latitude. France claims the country which lies between this and the Spaniſh ſettlements to the Weſt, and ſecures an intercourſe with them by the mouths of the Miſſiſippi, the Mobile, and of the river St. Laurence, which are the only avenues of navigation to this very extenſive country. The multitude of Iſlands, which lie between the two continents, are divided amongſt the Spaniards,

niards, French, and Engliſh. The Dutch poſſeſs three or four ſmall iſlands, which, in any other hands, would be of no conſequence. The Danes have one or two; but they hardly deſerve to be named amongſt the proprietors of America.

CHAP. II.

The climate and ſoil of New-Spain. Animals. Its vegetable produce.

THE order which I intend to obſerve in treating of the Spaniſh colonies is, after having ſet forth their ſituation, their climate, and the nature of the ſoil, to deſcribe thoſe commodities in which they trade; to give a clear and conciſe account of their method of manufacturing them; and then to lay open the manner of their dealing in them, as well as that by which they carry on their foreign commerce. Laſt of all, I ſhall ſay ſomething of the genius and temper of the inhabitants; of ſuch cuſtoms of theirs as are remarkable, and of their civil policy, and of their military, ſo far as they are come to my knowledge, or as they are worthy the attention of the reader. The exact diviſion of the provinces, the courſes of the rivers, the diſtances of places, the dimenſions of harbours and their ſoundings, all theſe, as they are infinitely

finitely better known from maps and charts, ſo it would be impertinent and tedious to fill up this ſhort work with them, which propoſes to give, even ſhort as it is, a deſcription of every thing that may tend to a juſt notion of America; and therefore cannot ſacrifice matters of more moment to the deſcription of things, of which a far better idea may be acquired by other means to thoſe whom they concern; and to thoſe whom they do not intereſt, who are far the majority, muſt be tedious and uninſtructive.

The firſt country which the Spaniards ſettled upon the continent of America was Mexico; and it ſtill continues their principal ſettlement, whether we conſider its number of inhabitants, its natural wealth, or its extended traffic. As it lies for the moſt part within the torrid zone, it is exceſſively hot; and on the Eaſtern coaſt, where the land is low, marſhy, and conſtantly flooded in the rainy ſeaſons, it is likewiſe extremely unwholeſome; neither is that coaſt pleaſant in any reſpect; incumbered for the moſt part with almoſt impenetrable woods of mangrove trees, of a bare and diſagreeable aſpect, and which extend into the water for a conſiderable way. The inland country aſſumes a more agreeable aſpect, and the air is of a better temperament; here the tropical fruits grow in great abundance; the land is of a good variety, and would

not refuſe any ſort of grain, if the number or induſtry of the inhabitants were any way proportioned to the goodneſs of the ſoil. But on the Weſtern ſide the land is not ſo low as on the Eaſtern, much better in quality, and full of plantations.

It is probable the Spaniards chuſe to leave the Eaſtern coaſt in its preſent ſtate of rudeneſs and deſolation, judging that a rugged and unwholeſome frontier is a better defence againſt an European enemy, than fortifications and armies, to be maintained at a vaſt expence; or than the ſtrength of the inhabitants, made by the climate effeminate and puſillanimous, and kept ſo by policy: and indeed it would be next to impoſſible to make any conſiderable eſtabliſhment on that coaſt, that could effectually anſwer the purpoſes of any power in Europe, without ſtruggling with the greateſt difficulties; and as for a ſudden invaſion, the nature of the country itſelf is a good fortification. In general, few countries, under the ſame aſpect of the heavens, enjoy more of the benefits of nature and the neceſſaries of life; but, like all the tropical countries, it rather is more abundant in fruits than in grain. Pine apples, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, citrons, figs, and cocoa nuts, are here in the greateſt plenty and perfection. Vines and apples require temperate climates.

The number of their horned cattle is in a manner infinite; ſome private perſons are ſaid to have poſſeſſed forty thouſand head; many are wild, and a very conſiderable trade is driven in their hides and tallow, but the extreme heat prevents their turning the fleſh to any account in commerce. Swine are equally numerous, and their lard is much in requeſt all over this country, where it is uſed inſtead of butter. Sheep are numerous in Mexico, but I do not find that wool is an article of any great conſideration in their trade; nor is it probable that it is of a good kind, as it is ſcarce ever found uſeful between the tropics, where it is hairy and ſhort, except only in Peru; and that is the produce of ſheep of a ſpecies very different from that in the reſt of America; as Peru is itſelf remarkably different in climate from all other countries under the torrid zone. But cotton is here very good, and in great plenty. It is manufactured largely, for, as it is very light and ſuitable to the climate, and all other cloathing being extravagantly dear, it is the general wear of the inhabitants; the woollens and linens of Europe being rather luxuries, and worn only by perſons of ſome condition. Some provinces produce ſilk, but not in that abundance or perfection to make a remarkable part of their export; not but that the country is very fit for that, and many other things valuable, which are but little cul-

tivated; for the gold and ſilver, which make the glory of this country, and in the abundant treaſures of which it exceeds all the world, engage almoſt the whole attention of the inhabitants, as they are almoſt the only things for which the Spaniards value their colonies, and what alone receive the encouragement of the court; therefore I ſhall inſiſt more largely upon theſe articles. After that, I ſhall ſpeak of thoſe commodities, which are produced here of moſt importance in foreign commerce, and reſt upon them in proportion to their importance. Theſe are cochineal, indigo, and cocoa, of which chocolate is made. As for ſugar, and tobacco, and indigo, though no part of the world produces better than Mexico; and as for logwood, though it be in a manner peculiar to this country; yet, as the firſt is largely raiſed and manufactured elſewhere, and as our own commerce in the two laſt is what chiefly intereſts an Engliſh reader, I ſhall reſerve them to be treated of in the diviſion I allot to the Engliſh colonies.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The gold and ſilver mines. The manner of purifying thoſe metals. Some thoughts on the generation of metals. Of the quantity of thoſe metals produced in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies.

IT is not known with certainty, whether all or ſome provinces only of New Spain produce mines of gold and ſilver. It is, however, allowed that the chief mines of gold are in Veragua and New Granada, confining upon Darien and Terra Firma. Thoſe of ſilver, which are much more rich as well as numerous, are found in ſeveral parts, but in none ſo much as in the province of Mexico. But all the mines, whether of gold or ſilver, are generally found in the mountains and barren parts; nature often making amends one way for her failures in another.

Gold is found either in the ſand of rivers, native, and in ſmall grains, or it is dug out of the earth in the ſame condition in ſmall bits, almoſt wholly metallic, and of a tolerable purity; or it is found, like the ore of other metals, in an aggregate opaque maſs, in a mixture of earth, ſtone, ſulphur, and other metals. In this ſtate it is of all colours, red, white, blackiſh, and making little or no oſtentation of the riches it contains. Sometimes it forms part

of the ornament of ſome beautiful ſtones, which are of various lively colours, interſected with filaments of this metal, quite native. Lapis lazuli is one of theſe, which has always ſome ſmall portions of gold; but this golden ſtreaking is often extremely fallacious, and has betrayed many into ruinous expences; for in ſeveral ſtones theſe fine veins have been nothing more than marcaſite; however, ſuch marcaſites or fire-ſtones are found in mines which contain real gold. But gold, howſoever found, whether native or in what is called the ore, is ſeldom or never without a mixture of other metals, generally ſilver or copper.

The gold mines, though they contain the richeſt of all metals, it is remarkable, moſt frequently diſappoint the hopes and ruin the fortunes of thoſe who engage in them; tho' neither the labouring of the mine, nor the purifying of the metal, is attended with ſuch an expence as what thoſe are obliged to, who work mines of the inferior metals. For the vein is, of all others, the moſt unequal; ſometimes very large, full and rich; then it often decays by a quick gradation, and is ſometimes ſuddenly loſt. But the ends of the veins are, on the other hand, often extremely rich; they are called the purſe of the vein; and when the miner is ſo happy as to light

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on one of theſe purſes, his fortune is made immediately.

When the ore is dug out, the moſt uſual method is to break it to pieces in a mill, exactly reſembling thoſe large ones we uſe for grinding apples, wherein a mill-ſtone ſet on end is made to turn in a circular channel of ſtone. When the ore is thus broke, and the gold ſomewhat ſeparated from the impure maſs, they add to the whole a quantity of quickſilver. Quickſilver has, of all other bodies, the greateſt attraction with gold, which therefore immediately breaks the links which held it to the former earth, and clings cloſe to this congenial ſubſtance. Then a rapid ſtream of water is let into the channel, which, ſcouringaway (through a hole made for the purpoſe) the lighter earth, by the briſkneſs of its current, leaves the gold and mercury precipitated by its weight at the bottom. This amalgama, or paſte, is put into a linen cloth, and ſqueezed ſo as to make the quickſilver ſeparate and run out. To complete this ſeparation, it is neceſſary to fuſe the metal, and then all the mercury flies off in fumes.

But in many parts of Spaniſh America, another way of getting and purifying gold is practiſed. When by ſure tokens they know that gold lies in the bed of a rivulet, they turn the current into the inward angles, which time and the ſtream have formed; whilſt this runs,

they dig and turn up the earth, to make it the more eaſily diſſolved and carried off. When the ſurface is thus completely waſhed away, and they are come to a ſort of ſtiff earth, which is the receptacle of gold, they return the ſtream into its former channel, and dig up the earth as they find it, which they carry to a little baſon ſomewhat in the form of a ſmith's bellows. Into this they turn a ſmall but a lively ſtream, to carry off the foreign matter, whilſt they facilitate the operation by ſtirring the maſs with an iron hook, which diſſolves the earth, and gathers up the ſtones, which are carefully thrown out that they may not interrupt the paſſages that carry off the earth. By this means the gold, looſened from the groſs matter which adhered to it, falls to the bottom, but mixed ſo intimately with a black heavy ſand, that none of the gold can be perceived, unleſs it happens to be a pretty large grain. To ſeparate it from this ſand, it is put into a ſort of wooden platter, with a little hollow of about the depth of half an inch at bottom. This platter they fill with water, and, turning the maſs about briſkly with their hands for ſome time, the ſand paſſes over the edges, and leaves the gold in ſmall grains, pure, and of its genuine colour, in the hollow at the bottom. Thus is gold refined without fire or mercury, merely by waſhing. The places where this is performed are called there-

therefore Lavaderos by the Spaniards. There are many more methods of extracting and purifying this precious metal; but theſe are the moſt common ways uſed by the Spaniards in their Indies.

Silver is the metal next in rank, but firſt in conſequence in the Spaniſh traffic, as their mines yield a much greater quantity of the latter than of the former. It is found in the earth under different forms, as indeed the ore of all metal is. Such is the diverſity of ores in this reſpect, that nothing but a long experience in this particular branch can exactly aſcertain the ſpecies of the metal, which almoſt any ore contains at firſt view. I have ſeen ſpecimens wherein the ſilver, almoſt pure, twined itſelf about a white ſtone, penetrating into the interſtices in the ſame manner that the roots of trees enter into the rocks, and twiſt themſelves about them. Some are of an aſh-coloured appearance, others ſpotted of a red and blue, ſome of changeable colours, and many almoſt black, affecting ſomewhat of a pointed regular form like cryſtals. I cannot find that it is ever found in grains or ſand, native, as gold is.

The manner of refining ſilver does not differ eſſentially from the proceſs which is employed for gold. They are both purified upon the ſame principle; by clearing away as much of the earth as can be, with water; by uniting

ing or amalgamating it with mercury; and afterwards by clearing off the mercury itſelf, by ſtraining and evaporation. But the management of ſilver in this reſpect is much more difficult than that of gold; becauſe this metal is much more intimately united with the foreign matters with which it is found in the mine; and its attraction with mercury is much weaker; therefore there is great care taken in the amalgamation, and it is a long time before they are perfectly mixed. A quantity of ſea-ſalt is likewiſe added. No ſilver is had by mere waſhing.

The chemiſts have talked very freely of the production of theſe and other metals in the earth; of the ſalt, ſulphur, and mercury, that compoſe them; and the manner in which theſe ſubſtances are united and changed, ſo as to form metals and minerals of every ſpecies. Some have recourſe to the ſun as the great agent in this proceſs, eſpecially in gold and ſilver, as the moſt worthy ſuch an operator. Others call in the aid of ſubterraneous fires and central heat. But in reality they have advanced very little that is ſatisfactory upon this ſubject. They have never, by any method of joining the matters which they have aſſigned as the conſtituent parts of metals, in any proportions whatſoever, nor by any degree of their great agent fire, been able to make metal of that which was not metal before. Neither have

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they found what they allot as the component parts of all metals in ſuch a manner in all, as to enable them to fix any common principle for their generation. Some they cannot analyſe by any art, as gold; they indeed define it a compoſition of a very ſubtile mercury, and a ſulphur as ſubtile.

But how this comes to be known, when no proceſs hitherto diſcovered has been able to extract either of theſe from gold, they who have advanced ſuch things ought to tell. It is reaſonable to believe, that there is ſome plaſtic principle in nature, perhaps ſomething analogous to the ſeminal principle in plants and animals, whatever that is, which does not, as we know, reſemble any known body, nor is compoſed of any combination of known bodies; but powerful of itſelf to combine and vary ſuch a part of the common ſtock of matter as it is fitted to operate upon, which it draws to itſelf, and cauſes to form an animal, or a plant, or a mineral, or metal, of this or that nature, according to the original nature of the ſeed. Suppoſe a plant ſubjected to all the torture of the chemical queſtion: you find it contains various matters; an earth, water, oil, ſalt, ſpirit, and in the three laſt perhaps ſomething ſpecific, and differing from other plants. But neither the ſame quantities of ſimilar matter, nor theſe very matters themſelves, can

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ever come to form a plant like the original, or any thing like a plant at all, becauſe the ſeminal virtue is wanting; nor is it perhaps diſcoverable. And as for the other matters, they are the inert parts of the plant; without power themſelves, they are the materials with which, and on which, the ſeminal virtue acts, to organize the maſs, to ſpread the branches, to ſhoot out the gems, to mature the fruit, and in ſhort to perform all the functions of a complete plant. The ſame may be ſaid of animals. And why not of minerals, though of a leſs nice organization? Why ſhould they not have the ſeminal principle too, which, operating, by its own power, and in a way of its own, upon the elements of air, earth, water, oil, and ſalt, is capable of producing iron, copper, gold, ſilver, and other metals. The want of this will always hinder us from being able to produce any metal from other than metalline ingredients, though we ſhould take ſuch things as reſemble the ingredients they yield upon an analyſis, and in the ſame quantities in which we find them. This I do not ſay as favouring the notion that ſtones and metals vegetate exactly like plants. That theſe are often found where they had formerly been exhauſted, and that they are known to extend their dimenſions, is pretty certain; but that they aſſimulate the heterogeneous matter which increaſes their bulk,

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in a manner analogous to plants, I cannot venture to propoſe. It muſt be allowed that ſilver has been found, and I have ſo ſeen it, extending itſelf among the interſtices of ſtones, not unlike ivy and other paraſite plants; yet, as a metal no way differing from it, or at all inferior, is extracted from ores, which have an appearance altogether different, and which too is the uſual way, it is probable the manner in which they grow is not the ſame.

What I had to ſay of gold and ſilver, as both are found, and the latter in vaſt quantities, in Mexico, I thought proper, for the ſake of avoiding repetitions, to bring under this head, though all the reſt of the Spaniſh territories produce largely of both.

Of the plenty of gold and ſilver, which the mines of Mexico afford, great things have been ſaid, and with juſtice; as this, with the other Spaniſh colonies in America, in a manner furniſh the whole world with ſilver; and bear a great proportion in gold to the whole of what the world produces. A late very judicious collector of voyages ſays, that the revenues of Mexico, can hardly fall ſhort of twenty-four millions of our money. He founds this upon a return made by the biſhops of their tenths, which, without doubt, were not over-rated; and that theſe amounted to one million and a half ſterling; that theſe are about a fourth of the revenues of the clergy;

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and that the eſtates of the clergy are about the fourth part of the whole revenues of the kingdom, which at this rate amount to twenty-four millions Engliſh. He takes another method of computing the wealth of this province, which is, by the fifth paid to the king of the gold and ſilver dug out of their mines. This he obſerves, in the year 1730, amounted to one million of marks in ſilver, each mark equivalent to eight ounces; ſo that if we compute this ſilver at five ſhillings per ounce, then the inhabitants receive from their mines ~~ten~~ two millions in money. What a prodigious idea muſt this calculation give us of the united product of all the American mines! How much muſt be allowed in this account for the exaggeration of travellers, and the oſtentation of Spaniards, I will not pretend to determine. The plate circulated in trade, or lying dead as the ornaments of churches and houſes, though a great deal is undoubtedly employed in all theſe ways, did not ſeem to me to juſtify ſo vaſt a computation; but, as the gentleman who has conſidered this point with uncommon attention is of another opinion, I wave any further obſervation upon it.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of cochineal and cocoa.

COCHINEAL, the next commodity for value which they export, is uſed in dyeing all the ſeveral kinds of the fineſt ſcarlet, crimſon, and purple. After much diſpute about the nature of this curious drug, it ſeems at laſt agreed, that it is of the animal kind; an inſect of the ſpecies of the gall inſects. This animal is found adhering to various plants, but there is only one which communicates to it the qualities which make it valuable in medicine and manufactures. This plant is called Opuntia by the botaniſts. It conſiſts wholly of thick ſucculent oval leaves, joined end to end, and ſpreading out on the ſides in various ramifications. The flower is large, and the fruit in ſhape reſembling a fig; this fruit is full of a crimſon juice, and to this juice it is that the cochineal inſect owes its colour.

When the rainy ſeaſons come on, they who cultivate this plant, cut off thoſe heads which abound moſt with ſuch inſects, as are not yet at their full growth; and preſerve them very carefully from the weather and all other injuries. Theſe branches, though ſeparated from their parent ſtocks, preſerve their freſh-

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neſs and juices a long time; and this enables the inſect not only to live out the rains, but to grow to its full ſize, and be in readineſs to bring forth its young, as ſoon as the inclemency of the ſeaſon is over. When this time comes on, they are brought out, and placed upon the proper plants, diſpoſed in little neſts of ſome moſſy ſubſtance. As ſoon as they feel the enlivening influence of the freſh air, they bring forth in three or four days from their expoſure at fartheſt. The young, ſcarce bigger than a mite, run about with wonderful celerity, and the whole plantation is immediately peopled; yet, what is ſomewhat ſingular, this animal, ſo lively in its infancy, quickly loſes all its activity, and, attaching itſelf to ſome of the leaſt expoſed and moſt ſucculent parts of the leaf, it clings there for life, without ever moving, not wounding the leaf for its ſuſtenance, but ſucking with a proboſcis, with which it is furniſhed for this purpoſe.

What is not leſs remarkable than the way of life of this animal, is the nature of the male, which has no appearance of belonging to the ſame ſpecies; far from being fixed to a ſpot, he has wings, and is, like the butterfly, continually in motion; they are ſmaller than the cochineal, and conſtantly ſeen amongſt them, and walking over them without being ſuſpected by thoſe who take care of the inſect,

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of being a creature of the ſame kind, though they believe that the cochineals are impregnated by them. But it is the female cochineal only which is gathered for uſe.

They make four gatherings in a year, which are ſo many generations of this animal. When they are ſufficiently careful, they bruſh off the inſects one by one with a ſort of hair pencils, and take them as they fall; but they often bruſh the whole plant in a careleſs manner, ſo that fragments of it are mixed with the cochineals, and themſelves mixed, the old and young together, which careleſſneſs abates much of the value; but what chiefly makes the goodneſs of this commodity is, the manner of killing and drying the cochineals, which is performed three ways; the firſt is by dipping the baſket in which it is gathered into boiling water, and afterwards drying them in the ſun; this the Spaniards call renegrida. The ſecond method is by drying them in ovens made for the purpoſe; this, from its grey colour, veined with purple, is called jaſpeade. The third manner is, when the Indians dry them on their cakes of maize which are baked on flat ſtones; this laſt is the worſt kind, as it is generally overbaked, and ſomething burned. They call it negra.

This drug has a very uncommon good quality, and the more extraordinary as it belongs to the animal kingdom, and to the moſt

periſhable of that kind, that it never decays. Without any other care than having been put by in a box, ſome have been known to keep ſixty, ſome even upwards of an hundred years, and as fit for the purpoſes of medicine, or manufacture, as ever it was. It is uſed in medicine as a cordial and ſudorific, in which intentions few things anſwer better. And indeed, as it anſwers ſuch good purpoſes in medicine, is ſo eſſential in trade, and produced only in this country, it may be conſidered in all markets as equivalent to gold or ſilver, by the certainty and quickneſs of the ſale. It is computed they annually export no leſs than nine hundred thouſand pound weight of this commodity.

The cocao, or cacao, of which chocolate is made, is a conſiderable article in the natural hiſtory and commerce of New Spain. It grows upon a tree of a middling ſize; the wood is ſpungy and porous, the bark ſmooth, and of a cinnamon colour: the flower grows in bunches between the ſtalks and the wood, of the form of roſes, but ſmall, and without any ſcent. The fruit is a ſort of pod, which contains the cacao, much about the ſize and ſhape of a cucumber. Within there is a pulp of a moſt refreſhing acid taſte, which fills up the interſtices between the nuts before they are ripe; but, when they fully ripen, theſe nuts are packed up wonderfully cloſe, and in a

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moſt regular and elegant order; they have a pretty tough ſhell, and within this is the oily rich ſubſtance, of which chocolate is made. This fruit grows differently from our European fruits, which always hang upon the ſmall branches; but this grows along the body of the great ones, principally at the joints. None are found upon the ſmall, which, though it is a manner of vegetation unknown here, prevails in ſeveral other plants within the tropics. The cacao is a very tender tree, equally impatient of the wind, heat or cold, and will flouriſh only in the ſhade; for which reaſon, in the cacao walks, they always plant a palm-tree for every one of cacao. I need ſay little of the uſe of this fruit; it is general amongſt ourſelves, and its virtues well known; but, however the great external call for it may be, the internal conſumption is much greater, ſo that in Mexico and Terra Firma, in ſome provinces of which latter it is found in the greateſt perfection, their foreign and domeſtic commerce in this article is immenſe, and the profits ſo great, that a ſmall garden of the cacao's is ſaid to produce twenty thouſand crowns a year; though I believe this to be exaggerated: it ſhews, however, in what a light of profit this commodity is conſidered. At home it makes the principal part of their diet, and is found wholeſome, nutritious, and ſuitable to the climate.

This fruit is often confounded with the cocoa nut, which is a ſpecies wholly different.

CHAP. V.

The trade of Mexico. Some account of that city. The affairs of Acapulco and La Vera Cruz. The flota and regiſter ſhips.

THE trade of Mexico may be conſidered as conſiſting of three great branches by which it communicates with the whole world; the trade with Europe by La Vera Cruz; the trade with the Eaſt-Indies by Acapulco; and the commerce of the South-Sea by the ſame port. The places in New Spain, which can intereſt a ſtranger, are therefore three only, La Vera Cruz, Acapulco, and Mexico.

Mexico, the capital of the kingdom, the reſidence of the viceroy, the ſeat of the firſt audience or chamber of juſtice, and an archbiſhopric, is certainly one of the richeſt and moſt ſplendid cities, not only in America, but in the whole world. Though no ſea-port town, nor communicating with the ſea by any navigable river, it has a prodigious commerce, and is itſelf the center of all that is carried on between America and Europe on one hand, and between America and the Eaſt-Indies on the other; for here the prin-

cipal merchants reſide, the greateſt part of th buſineſs is negotiated; and the goods ſent from Acapulco to La Vera Cruz, or from La Vera Cruz to Acapulco, for the uſe of the Philippines, and in a great meaſure for the uſe of Peru and Lima, all paſs through this city, and employ an incredible number of horſes and mules in the carriage. Hither all the gold and ſilver come to be coined, here the king's fifth is depoſited, and here is wrought all that immenſe quantity of utenſils and ornaments in plate, which is every year ſent into Europe. Every thing here has the greateſt air of magnificence and wealth; the ſhops glitter upon all ſides with the expoſure of gold, ſilver, and jewels, and ſurprize yet more by the work of the imagination upon the treaſures which fill great cheſts piled up to the cielings, whilſt they wait the time of being ſent to Old Spain. It is ſaid that the negro wenches, who run by the coaches of the ladies there, wear bracelets of gold, pearl necklaces, and jewels in their ears, whilſt the black foot-boys are all over covered with lace and embroidery. It cannot exactly be aſcertained what number of people are in this city. It is certainly very conſiderable, by many not made leſs than ſeventy or eighty thouſand. This city itſelf is well and regularly built, though the houſes are not lofty; the monaſteries are numerous, and richly endowed,

dowed, and the churches extravagantly rich in their ornaments, though comparatively poor in the taſte of their architecture.

The port neareſt to this city is Acapulco, upon the South-Sea, upwards of two hundred miles diſtant from the capital. Acapulco itſelf has one of the deepeſt, ſecureſt, and moſt commodious harbours in the South-Sea, and indeed almoſt the only one which is good upon the Weſtern coaſt of New Spain. The entrance of the harbour is defended by a caſtle of tolerable ſtrength; the town itſelf is but ill built, and makes every way a miſerable figure, except at the time of the fairs, when it intirely changes its appearance, and becomes one of the moſt conſiderable marts in the world. About the month of December, the great galleon, which makes the whole communication that is between America and the Philippines, after a voyage of five months, and ſailing three thouſand leagues without ſeeing any other land than the Little Ladrones, arrives here loaded with all the rich commodities of the eaſt; cloves, pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs, mace, china, japan wares, callicoes plain and painted, chints, muſlins of every ſort, ſilks, precious ſtones, rich drugs, and gold duſt. At the ſame time the annual ſhip from Lima comes in, and is not computed to bring leſs than two millions of pieces of eight in ſilver, beſides quickſilver, cacao,

drugs,

drugs, and other valuable commodities, to be laid out in the purchaſe of the commodities of the Eaſt-Indies. Several other ſhips from different parts of Chili and Peru meet upon the ſame occaſion; and, beſides the traffic for the Philippine commodities, this cauſes a very large dealing for every thing thoſe countries have to exchange with one another, as well as for the purchaſe of all ſorts of European goods. The fair laſts ſometimes for thirty days. As ſoon as the goods are diſpoſed of, the galleon prepares to ſet out on her voyage to the Philippines with her returns, chiefly in ſilver, but with ſome European goods too, and ſome other commodities of America. I ſpeak here, as though there were but one veſſel on the trade with the Philippines; and in fact there is only nominally one trading veſſel, the galleon itſelf, of about twelve hundred tons; but another attends her commonly as a ſort of convoy, which generally carries ſuch a quantity of goods as pretty much diſables her from performing that office. The galleon has often above a thouſand people on board, either intereſted in the cargo, or merely paſſengers; and there is no trade in which ſo large profits are made; the captain of the veſſel, the pilots, their mates, and even the common ſailors, making in one voyage, what in their ſeveral ranks may be conſidered as eaſy fortunes. It is ſaid, by the writer of Lord

Anſon's voyage, that the jeſuits have the profits of this ſhip to ſupport their miſſions; and if ſo, their gains muſt be extremely great, and muſt add much to the conſequence of a ſociety which has as great a reputation for its riches as its wiſdom.

This commerce to ſo vaſt a value, though carried on directly between the king of Spain's own dominions, enriches them in proportion but very little; the far greater part of every thing that comes from the Philippines being the produce, or the fabric, of other countries; the Spaniards add none of the artificial value of labour to any thing. The Chineſe are largely intereſted in this cargo, and it is to them they are indebted for the manufacturing of ſuch of their plate, as is wrought into any better faſhion than rude ingots or inelegant coins. When this fair is over, the town is comparatively deſerted; however, it remains for the whole year the moſt conſiderable port in Mexico, for the trade with Peru and Chili, which is not very great. The Eaſt-India goods brought hither are carried on mules to Mexico, from whence what exceeds their own conſumption is ſent by land-carriage to La Vera Cruz, to paſs over the Terra Firma, to the iſlands, and ſome even to Old Spain, though in no great quantity.

From the port of La Vera Cruz, it is that the great wealth of Mexico is poured out upon

upon all the old world; and it is from this port alone, that they receive the numberleſs luxuries and neceſſaries that the old world yields them in return. To this port the annual fleet from Cadiz, called the flota, arrives about the latter end of November, after a paſſage of nine weeks. This fleet, which ſails only from Cadiz, conſiſts of about three men of war as a convoy, and fourteen or fifteen large merchant ſhips, from four hundred to one thouſand tons burthen. They are loaded with almoſt every ſort of goods which Europe produces for export; all ſorts of woollens, linens, ſilks, velvets, laces, glaſs, paper, cutlery, all ſorts of wrought iron, watches, clocks, quickſilver, horſe furniture, ſhoes, ſtockings, books, pictures, military ſtores, wines, and fruits; ſo that all the trading parts of Europe are highly intereſted in the cargo of this fleet. Spain itſelf ſends out little more than the wine and fruit. This, with the freight and commiſſions to the merchant and the duty to the king, is almoſt all the advantage which that kingdom derives from her commerce with the Indies. It is ſtrictly prohibited to load any commodities on board this fleet without entering the goods, the value, and the owner's name, in the India houſe at Seville; and when they return, they muſt bring a certificate, from the proper officer there, that the goods were duly landed, and

in the proper port. They are not permitted to break bulk upon any account until they arrive at La Vera Cruz, nor are they ſuffered to take in any other than Spaniſh paſſengers, nor them without a licence firſt obtained at the India-houſe.

Jealouſy is the glaring character of the court of Spain, in whatever regards their American empire; and they often ſacrifice the proſperity to an exceſſive regard to the ſecurity of their poſſeſſions. They attend in this trade principally to two objects; the excluſion of all ſtrangers from any ſhare in it, and the keeping up of the market for ſuch goods as they ſend; and they think both theſe ends beſt anſwered by ſending out only one annual fleet, and that from one only port in Spain, and to one port only in Mexico. Theſe views, which would be impolitic in any power in Europe beſides, are judicious enough in Spain; becauſe the goods they ſend belonging moſtly to ſtrangers, and the profits upon the ſale in the Indies being the only thing that really accrues to themſelves, it is certainly right to conſult primarily how they ſhall get the greateſt returns upon the ſmalleſt quantity of goods. It would be quite otherwiſe, if all, or moſt of what they ſend abroad, were their own produce or manufacture. They are undoubtedly right too in keeping the trade very carefully to themſelves, though

perhaps

perhaps the means taken to attain this end will not be thought ſo rational. By ſuffering all the trade to be carried on only between two ports, they diſcourage in the old world all their towns from that emulation, which would not only enable them to traffic in foreign commodities, but in time to ſet up fabrics of their own; whereas now, with regard to the export of their commodities, they ſtand upon the level of ſtrangers; they cannot carry their produce directly to the beſt market; and it is very certain, that even trifling diſcouragements operate very powerfully where the commercial ſpirit is weak, and the trade in its infancy. Again; in the new world, this confinement of the trade encourages interlopers, and an illicit commerce, too gainful for any regulation to prevent, and which may afford ſuch bribes as will diſarm the moſt rigid juſtice and lull the moſt attentive vigilance. So that in reality it may greatly be doubted, whether the precautions, ſo ſyſtematically purſued, and improved from time to time with ſo much care and foreſight, are at bottom of moſt advantage or prejudice to that nation. It was probably ſome conſideration of this kind, that gave riſe to the cuſtom of regiſter ſhips: it was found that this confined commerce ſupplied its extenſive object very imperfectly; and that thoſe who were at watch to pour in contraband goods would

take

take advantage of this want of a regular ſupply from Spain. When therefore a company of merchants of Cadiz or Seville judge that goods muſt be wanting at any certain port in the Weſt-Indies, the courſe is, to petition the council of the Indies for licence to ſend a ſhip of three hundred tons, or under, to that port. They pay for this licence forty or fifty thouſand dollars, beſides preſents to the officers, in proportion to the connivance neceſſary to their deſign; for, though the licence runs to three hundred tons at the utmoſt, the veſſel fitted out is ſeldom really leſs than ſix hundred. This ſhip and cargo is regiſtered at the pretended burthen. It is required too, that a certificate be brought from the king's officer at the port to which the regiſter ſhip is bound, that ſhe does not exceed the ſize at which ſhe is regiſtered; all this paſſes of courſe; theſe are what they call regiſter-ſhips, and by theſe the trade of Spaniſh America has been carried on principally for ſome years paſt, ſome think, as much to the prejudice of their trade, as contrary to all their former maxims in carrying it on. But to return to the flota.

When all the goods are landed and diſpoſed of at La Vera Cruz, the fleet takes in the plate, precious ſtones, cochineal, indigo, cocoa, tobacco, ſugar and hides, which are their returns for Old Spain. Sometimes in

May,

May, but more frequently in Auguſt, they are ready to depart. From La Vera Cruz they ſail to the Havanna in the iſle of Cuba, which is the place of rendezvous where they meet the galleons; another fleet, which carries on all the trade of Terra Firma by Carthagena, and of Peru by Panama and Porto-bello, in the ſame manner that the flota ſerves for that of New-Spain. When they arrive at this port, and join the galleons and the regiſter ſhips that collect at the ſame port from all quarters, ſome of the cleaneſt and beſt ſailing of their veſſels are diſpatched to Spain, with advice of the contents of theſe ſeveral fleets, as well as with treaſure and goods of their own, that the court may judge what indulto or duty is proper to be laid on them, and what convoy is neceſſary for their ſafety. Theſe fleets generally make ſome ſtay at the Havanna before all the ſhips that compoſe them are collected and ready to ſail. As ſoon as this happens they quit the Havanna, and beat through the gulph of Florida, and, paſſing between the Bahama iſlands, hold their courſe to the North-Eaſt, until they come to the height of St. Auguſtin, and then ſteer away to Old Spain. When the flota has left La Vera Cruz, it has no longer the appearance of a place of conſequence; it is a town in a very unhealthy ſituation, inhabited ſcarcely by any but Indians, Meztezes, or Negroes.

All

All the merchants of any conſequence reſide at ſome diſtance, at a place called Los Angelos. This town may contain about three thouſand inhabitants.

CHAP. VI.

Three ſorts of people in New-Spain. The Whites, Indians, and Negroes; the characters of thoſe. The clergy, their characters. The civil government, its character.

THE inhabitants of New Spain are compoſed of people of three different races; Whites, Indians, and Negroes, or the ſeveral mixtures of thoſe. The Whites are either born in Old Spain, or they are Creoles; thoſe who are native Spaniards are moſtly in offices, or in trade, and have the ſame character and manners with the Spaniards of Europe; the ſame gravity of behaviour, the ſame natural ſagacity and good ſenſe, the ſame indolence, and yet a greater ſhare of pride and ſtatelineſs; for here they look upon the being natives of Old Spain as a very honourable diſtinction, and are in return looked upon by the Creoles with no ſmall ſhare of hatred and envy. The latter have little of that firmneſs and patience which makes one of the fineſt parts of the character of the native Spaniard. They have little courage, and are univerſally

weak

weak and effeminate. Living as they do in a conſtant enervating heat, ſurfeited with wealth, and giving up their whole time to loitering and inactive pleaſures, they have nothing bold or manly to fit them for making a figure in active life; and few or none have any taſte for the ſatisfaction of a learned retirement. Luxurious without variety or elegance, and expenſive with great parade and little conveniency, their general character is no more than a grave and ſpecious inſignificance.

They are temperate at their tables and in their cups, but, from idleneſs and conſtitution, their whole buſineſs is amour and intrigue; theſe they carry on in the Old Spaniſh taſte, by doing and ſaying extravagant things, by bad muſic, worſe poetry, and exceſſive expences. Their ladies are little celebrated for their chaſtity or domeſtic virtues; but they are ſtill a good deal reſtrained by the old-faſhioned etiquette, and they exert a genius, which is not contemptible, in combating the reſtraints which that lays them under.

The clergy are extremely numerous, and their wealth and influence cannot be doubted amongſt ſo rich and ſuperſtitious a people. It is ſaid, that they actually poſſeſs a fourth of the revenues of that whole kingdom; which, after all abatements, certainly amounts to ſeveral millions. And as to their numbers, it is not extravagant to ſay, that prieſts, monks,

and

and nuns of all orders, are upwards of one fifth of all the white people, both here and in the other parts of Spanish America. But, the clergy here being too ignorant in general to be able instructors by their preaching, and too loose and debauched in their own manners to instruct by their example, the people are little the better for their numbers, wealth, or influence. Many of them are no other than adventurers from Old Spain, who, without regard to their character or their vows, study nothing but how to raise a sudden fortune, by abusing the ignorance and extreme credulity of the people. A great deal of attention is paid to certain mechanical methods of devotion. Moral duties are little talked of. An extreme veneration for saints, lucrative to the orders they have founded or are supposed to patronize, is strongly inculcated, and makes the general subject of their sermons, designed rather to raise a stupid admiration of their miracles, than an imitation of the sanctity of their lives. However, having said this, it must be considered as all general observations, with the reasonable allowances; for many of the dignified clergy, and others among them, understand and practise the duties of their station; and some whole orders, as that of the Jesuits, are here, as they are elsewhere, distinguishable for their learning and the decency of their behaviour. And

certainly,

certainly, with all their faults, in one reſpect their zeal is highly commendable; that they are the cauſe of ſeveral charitable foundations; and that they bring the Indians and blacks into ſome knowledge of religion, and in ſome meaſure mitigate their ſlavery. This too has a good political effect; for thoſe ſlaves are more faithful than ours, and, though indulged with greater liberty, are far leſs dangerous. I do not remember that any inſurrection has been ever attempted by them; and the Indians are reduced to more of a civilized life, than they are in the colonies of any other European nation.

This race of people are now, whatever they were formerly, humble, dejected, timorous, and docile; they are generally treated with great indignity. The ſtate of all people ſubjected to another people is infinitely worſe than what they ſuffer from the preſſure of the worſt form, or the worſt adminiſtration, of any government of their own.

The blacks here, as they are imported from Africa, have the ſame character as the blacks of our colonies; ſtubborn, hardy, of an ordinary underſtanding, and fitted for the groſs ſlavery they endure.

Such are the characters of the people, not only of New Spain, but of all Spaniſh America. When any thing materially different occurs, I ſhall not fail to mention it.

The civil government is adminiſtered by tribunals, which here are called audiences, conſiſting of a certain number of judges, divided into different chambers, more reſembling the parliaments in France than our courts. At the head of the chief of theſe chambers the viceroy himſelf preſides when he ſees fit. His employment is one of the greateſt truſt and power the king of Spain has in his gift; and is perhaps the richeſt government entruſted to any ſubject in the world. All employments here are held only by native Spaniards, and by them but for a certain limited time; at moſt not above three years. Jealouſy, in this reſpect, as in all others relative to the Indies, is the ſpirit that influences all their regulations; and it has this very bad effect; that every officer, from the higheſt to the loweſt, has the avidity which a new and lucrative poſt inſpires; ravenous becauſe his time is ſhort, he oppreſſes the people and defrauds the crown; another ſucceeds him with the ſame diſpoſitions; and no man is careful to eſtabliſh any thing uſeful in his office, knowing that his ſucceſſor will be ſure to trample upon every regulation which is not ſubſervient to his own intereſts; ſo that this enſlaved people has not the power of putting in uſe the fox's policy, of letting the firſt ſwarm of bloodſuckers ſtay on, but is obliged to ſubmit to be drained by a conſtant

ſtant ſucceſſion of hungry and impatient harpies.

There are ſome troops kept in New Spain, and a good revenue appropriated for their maintenance, and for the ſupport of the fortifications there; but the ſoldiers are few; ill cloathed, ill paid, and worſe diſciplined; the military here keep pace with the civil and eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration, and every thing is a jobb.

CHAP. VII.

New Mexico. Its diſcovery. Climate. Products. The Engliſh claim to California.

NEW Mexico lies to the North and North-Eaſt of New Spain. Its bounds to the North are not aſcertained. Taking in California, it has the great South-Sea to the Weſt, and to the Eaſt it is bounded by the French pretenſions on the Miſſiſippi. This country lies for the moſt part within the temperate zone, and has a moſt agreeable climate, and a ſoil in many places productive of every thing for profit and delight. It has rich mines of ſilver, and ſome of gold, which are worked more and more every day; and it produces precious ſtones of ſeveral kinds; but it has no direct intercourſe with any part of Europe. The country is but little known at all

to Europeans; and the Spaniſh ſettlements there are comparatively weak; however, they are every day increaſing in proportion as they diſcover mines; which are here not inferior to any that have been diſcovered in the other parts of America. The inhabitants are moſtly Indians; but in many places lately reduced, by the Spaniſh miſſionaries, to chriſtianity, to a civilized life, to follow trades, and to raiſe corn and wine, which they now export pretty largely to old Mexico. This uſeful change was principally effected at the expence of a Spaniſh nobleman, the marquis Velaſco, whom the reverend author of lord Anſon's voyage calls, for that reaſon, a munificent bigot.

The famous peninſula of California is a part, and far from an inconſiderable part, of this country. It is a place finely ſituated for trade, and has a pearl fiſhery of great value. It was diſcovered by the great conqueror of Mexico, Hernando Cortes. Our famous admiral and navigator Sir Francis Drake landed there, and took poſſeſſion of it in 1578; and he not only took poſſeſſion, but obtained the beſt right in the world to the poſſeſſion; the principal king having formally inveſted him with his principality. However, I do not find that we have thought of aſſerting that right ſince his time; but it may probably employ, in ſome future age, the pens of thoſe lawyers who diſpute

diſpute with words what can only be decided by the ſword, and will afford large matter upon the right of diſcovery, occupancy, and ſettlement.

CHAP. VIII.

The climate and ſoil of Peru. Its produce. The mines, the coca and herb of Paraguay.

THE conqueſt of Peru, atchieved in ſo extraordinary a manner, brought into the power of Spain a country not leſs wealthy and nearly as extenſive as Mexico; but far beyond it for the conveniency of habitation and the agreeableneſs of the climate. Like Mexico, it is within the torrid zone; yet, having on one ſide the South-Sea, and on the other the great ridge of the Andes through its whole length, the joint effects of the ocean and the mountains temper the equinoctial heat in a manner equally agreeable and ſurpriſing. With a ſky for the moſt part cloudy, which ſhields them from the rays of the vertical ſun, it never rains in this country. But every night a ſoft benign dew broods upon the earth, and refreſhes the graſs and plants ſo as to produce in ſome parts the greateſt fertility; what the dew wants in perfecting this, is wrought by the vaſt number of ſtreams, to which the frequent rains and

the daily melting of the ſnow on thoſe aſtoniſhing mountains give riſe; for thoſe mountains, though within the tropics, have their tops continually covered with ſnow, which is an appearance unparalleled in the ſame climate. Along the ſea-coaſt, Peru is generally a dry barren ſand, except by the bank of the rivers and ſtreams we have mentioned, where it is extremely fertile, as are all the valleys in the hilly country.

The cauſe of the want of rain in all the flat country of Peru is difficult to be aſſigned; though the agents in it are not improbably the conſtant South-Weſt wind, that prevails there for the greateſt part of the year; and the immenſe height of the mountains, cold with a conſtant ſnow. The plain country between, refreſhed as it is on the one hand by the cool winds that blow without any variation from the frigid regions of the South, and heated as uniformly by the direct rays of the equinoctial ſun, preſerve ſuch an equal temper, that the vapour once elevated can hardly ever deſcend in rain: But in the mountainous part of the country, by the alternate contraction and dilatation of the air from the daily heats and the ſucceeding colds, which the ſnows communicate in the abſence of the ſun, as well as from the unequal temper of the air which prevails in all hilly places, the rain falls very plentifully; the climate in the mountainous

countries

countries is extremely changeable, and the changes ſudden.

All along the coaſt of Peru, a current ſets ſtrongly to the North; further out to ſea, it paſſes with equal rapidity to the South. This current probably moves eddywiſe; for, having run as far as its moving cauſe impels it, it naturally paſſes back again where it has leaſt reſiſtance. The ignorance of this double current made the navigation in the South-Seas originally very uncertain and fatiguing; but now the courſe is, for thoſe who paſs from Chili to Peru, to keep in to the ſhore in their paſſage to Callao, and on their return to ſtand out a great many leagues to ſea, and take the Southern current homewards. The ſame method, but reverſed, is obſerved in the voyages between Panama, and all the other Northern countries, and the ports of Peru.

The commodities of Peru, for export, may be reduced to theſe articles. Firſt, ſilver and gold; ſecondly, wine, oil, and brandy; thirdly, Vigonia wool; fourthly, jeſuits bark; fifthly, Guinea or Jamaica pepper. Of the firſt of theſe articles we have already treated in our deſcription of Mexico. The mines of gold in Peru are almoſt all in the Northern part, not very remote from Lima; thoſe of ſilver almoſt wholly in the Southern. The voyagers who treat of this country are generally pretty diffuſe in their accounts of the

principal places, where mines are found; but it does not therefore give us encouragement to insist much on these particulars, because they contain very little instruction in themselves; and if they were things in their own nature instructive, it would be little to the purpose to dwell upon what is continually changing. New mines are daily opened, and the old exhausted or deserted. The towns shift with the mines. A rich mine is always the founder of a town in proportion to its produce; the town which it subsists, when the mine is exhausted, disappears. Indeed the great mines of Potosi in the province of Los Charcas, are the inheritance of ages; and, after having enriched the world for centuries, still continue the inexhaustible sources of new treasure. They are not however quite so valuable now as formerly; not so much from any failure of the vein, as from the immense depth to which they have pursued it, which, by the greater labour necessary, lessens the profit on what it yields, in proportion as they descend; besides, new mines are daily opened, which are worked at a less expence: so that the accounts we have had of the great number which inhabited the city of Potosi, when Mr. Frezier was in that country, must have since suffered some abatement. It had then upwards of seventy thousand souls, Spaniards and Indians; of which the latter were six to one.

The

The Spaniards oblige this unfortunate people to ſend annually a certain number from the villages of the adjacent country, who are compelled to work for a limited time; afterwards they may return. But, having loſt the ſweetneſs of their former connexions, they that ſurvive this ſlavery commonly ſettle in the city of Potoſi. It is incredible how theſe mines (the moſt terrible ſcourge with which God could afflict the inhabitants) have contributed to depopulate this country. Worſe they are than ſword or peſtilence; equally fatal to their lives; and where thoſe eſcape, they are embittered by the circumſtance of an ignominious ſlavery, without any proſpect of end or mitigation. The effects of this ſervitude would be yet more fatal, if it were not for the uſe of an herb which the inhabitants call Coca, to which they aſcribe the moſt extraordinary virtues, and which they conſtantly uſe. Its qualities ſeem to be of the opiate kind, and to have ſome reſemblance to thoſe of tobacco; for it produces a kind of ſtupid compoſure. It is an antidote againſt poiſons and poiſonous effluvia, and makes thoſe who uſe it ſubſiſt a long time without food. Though neceſſary to thoſe only who work in the mines, it is uſed for pleaſure by all the Indians, who chew it conſtantly, though it makes thoſe who uſe it ſtink in a moſt offenſive manner. This herb is gathered by the Indians with many ſuperſtitious ceremonies,

monies, to which they attribute its virtues; for which reaſon it is, in many parts of Peru, with equal ſuperſtition, ſtrictly forbidden; the Spaniards, as well as the Indians, giving the credit of its effects to magic, and allowing to theſe more than they deſerve; for they think the Indians ſuperiority in ſtrength owing principally to them. However, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the inquiſition, which is eſtabliſhed in all the Spaniſh dominions with great terror, neceſſity makes them wink at the practice, where the mines are worked.

They make uſe of another preſervative, an infuſion of the herb of Paraguay; ſomething of the nature of tea. The conſumption of this in Peru by all ranks of people is prodigious. Above 18,000 hundred weight is annually brought into Chili and Peru, and is worth, when the duty is paid, not leſs than 80,000 pound ſterling. The fineſt of this ſpecies of tea comes from the country of the jeſuits.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The wines of Peru. The wool. The lamas and vicunnas, ſheep of Peru. Jeſuits bark. Guinea pepper. The dung of Iquiqua. Quick-ſilver mines.

THE Southern part of Peru, which lies without the tropic of Capricorn, produces wine in great plenty, but not in a perfection proportionable. The Spaniards diſlike and leave it to the Indians and negroes, chuſing rather, what may ſeem odd, to regale in the brandy of the ſame wine, which is likewiſe made and exported in large quantities, not only to all parts of Peru, but to Panama, and the ports of New Spain. The greateſt quantity is made near a place otherwiſe of no conſequence, called Moquaga; here, it is ſaid, they make annually of wine and brandy one hundred thouſand jars, which Mr. Frezier reckons at three million two hundred thouſand Paris pints. A vaſt quantity in a ſmall territory. The value of this produce is four hundred thouſand pieces of eight. Other places trade in wine, ſuch as Piſco, but of a goodneſs not ſuperior. Oil is likewiſe had in Peru; but both the wine and oil are moſtly the produce of thoſe places that lie beyond the Southern tropic.

Wool

Wool makes one of the moſt valuable commodities of the growth of this country. And it is not more remarkable for its fine long ſtaple, than for the ſingularity of the animal which carries it. It is ſheered from a ſort of ſheep, which they call lamas and vicunnas; the lamas have ſmall heads, reſembling in ſome meaſure both an horſe and ſheep; the upper lip is cleft like that of the hare, through which, when they are enraged, they ſpit, even to ten paces diſtance, a ſort of envenomed juice, which when it falls on the ſkin, cauſes a red ſpot and great itching. The neck is long like that of a camel; the body reſembles that of a ſheep, but the legs are much longer in proportion. This animal has a diſagreeable ſmell, but its fleſh is good; and it is extremely uſeful, not only for the wool, which is very long and fine, but as it is a beaſt of burthen, ſtrong, patient, and kept at a very eaſy expence. It ſeldom carries above one hundred and fifty pound weight, but then it carries that weight a vaſt way without tiring, eats very little, and never drinks. As ſoon as night comes, the lama lies down; and no blows can get him to move one foot, after the time he deſtines for his reſt and food.

The vicunna is an animal reſembling the lama, pretty much as the dromedary does the camel. He is ſmaller and ſwifter, with a far finer wool, but otherwiſe exactly like the lama

in

in all reſpects. The wool of theſe creatures is almoſt as fine as ſilk. Probably the famous ſheep of Cachemir, of whoſe wool they make the little white cloths, ſo much valued in India, is of this ſpecies. I cannot aſcertain what quantity of this wool is exported, manufactured or raw, out of Peru, either to New or Old Spain; but I have reaſon to believe it is not at all inconſiderable.

The fourth great article of their commerce is jeſuits bark, ſo well known in medicine, as a ſpecific in intermitting diſorders, and the many other great purpoſes, which experience daily finds it to anſwer. The tree which produces this valuable bark grows principally in the mountainous parts of Peru, and that moſt and beſt in the province of Quito. Condamine informs us, that it grows on the hither ſide of the Andes, no way inferior to the Peruvian in quantity and goodneſs; the beſt is produced on the high and rocky grounds; and it is not ſingular in this, for it ſeems in a good meaſure to be the caſe of all plants, whoſe juices are much more ſtrong and effective when elaborated in ſuch ſituations. The tree which bears it is about the ſize of a cherry-tree; its leaves are round and indented; it bears a long reddiſh flower, from whence ariſes a ſort of huſk, which invelopes a flat and white kernel, not unlike an almond. This bark was firſt introduced in France by the Cardinal Lago, a

jeſuit,

jeſuit, about the year 1650. Hence it had its name of jeſuits bark. It is ſaid to have been diſcovered by the accident of an Indian's drinking in a fever of the water of a lake into which ſome of theſe trees had fallen, and by which he was cured. This medicine, as uſual, was held in defiance for a good while by the faculty; but after an obſtinate defence, they have thought proper at laſt to ſurrender. Notwithſtanding all the miſchiefs at firſt foreſeen in its uſe, every body knows that it is at this day innocently and efficaciouſly preſcribed in a great variety of caſes; for which reaſon it makes a conſiderable and valuable part of the cargo of the galleons.

Guinea pepper, Agi, or, as it is called by us, Cayenne pepper, is a very great article in the trade of Peru, as it is uſed all over Spaniſh America in almoſt every thing they eat. This is produced in the greateſt quantity in the vale of Arica, a diſtrict in the Southern parts of Peru, from whence they export it to the annual value of ſix hundred thouſand crowns. The diſtrict which produces this pepper in ſuch abundance is but ſmall, and naturally barren; its fertility in pepper, as well as in grain and fruits, is owing to the advantage of a ſpecies of a very extraordinary manure, brought from an iſland called Iquiqua. This is a ſort of yellowiſh earth, of a fetid ſmell. It is generally thought to be dung

of

of birds, becauſe of the ſimilitude of the ſcent; feathers having been found very deep in it, and vaſt numbers of ſea fowls appearing upon that and all the adjacent coaſts. But, on the other hand, whether we look upon this ſubſtance as the dung of theſe ſea fowls or a particular ſpecies of earth, it is almoſt equally difficult to conceive how the ſmall iſland of Iquiqua, not above two miles in circumference, could ſupply ſuch immenſe quantities; and yet, after ſupplying upwards of twelve ſhip loads annually for a century together for the diſtant parts, and a vaſtly larger quantity for the uſe of the neighbourhood, it cannot be obſerved that it is in the leaſt diminiſhed, or that the height of the iſland is at all leſſened. But theſe are matters, which to handle properly, require a more exact knowledge of all the circumſtances relating to them, than can be gathered from travellers.

Quickſilver is a remarkable article in their trade, becauſe the purification of their gold and ſilver depends upon it. I do not find that any other part of the Spaniſh America produces it; ſo that Mexico and Terra Firma are ſupplied from Old Spain with all they want of that mineral, which is brought them on the king's account only; except that ſome arrives from Peru in a contraband manner. In Peru likewiſe it is monopolized by the crown. The principal mine of this extraordinary ſub-

ſtance is at a place called Guancavelica, where it is found in a whitiſh maſs, reſembling brick ill burned; this they pound, and put into a furnace vaulted at the top; it is laid upon an iron grate covered with earth. Through this the fire paſſes; and volatilizing the mineral, it is raiſed in a ſmoke, which, finding no paſſage but through a little hole contrived for that purpoſe, ruſhes through into a ſucceſſion of little round veſſels, united to each other by the necks; here the ſmoak circulates, and it condenſes by means of a little water at the bottom of each veſſel, into which the quickſilver falls in a pure heavy liquid. The men who work in the mines of this mineral are yet more ſubject to diſeaſes than thoſe who toil in the others; and they make uſe of the ſame preſervatives of Paraguay tea and coca.

CHAP. X.

The character of the Peruvians. Their diviſions. The Indian feſtival. Honours paid to a deſcendant of the ynca.

THE manners of the Spaniards and Creolians of Peru reſemble, with little difference, thoſe of the Spaniards and Creolians of Mexico, other than that the natives of Peru ſeem to be of a more liberal turn,

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and of greater ingenuity; but they are for the greater part equally deſtitute of all cultivation. The ſlavery of the Indians is here yet more ſevere. The magiſtrate and the prieſt devour their whole ſubſtance; and every Spaniard, as ſome authors report, inſults them with impunity. The traveller takes as much of their proviſion as he pleaſes, and decides for himſelf what he ſhall pay, or whether he ſhall pay any thing at all. Complaints are anſwered with new indignities, and with blows, which it is a crime to return. This cruel irregular bondage contributes to diſpeople this country even more than the methodical tyranny of the government. To avoid the plunder he is hourly ſubjected to, the maſter of the family often raiſes no more grain than what juſt ſuffices for the ſuſtenance of his family; this he buries, and keeps the ſecret of his hoard to himſelf, only drawing out daily juſt ſo much as ſerves for the uſe of the day. If he chances to die ſuddenly, the family ſtarves; if a bad ſeaſon comes, the calculated produce falls ſhort, and they are all reduced to beggary. Yet worſe, they are even the ſlaves of ſlaves; for the Spaniards encourage their negroes to treat them with the greateſt inſolence; and they politically keep up a rancour, now grown inveterate, between theſe two races of people. They are forbidden, under the ſevereſt penalties, to

marry, or to have an unlawful intercourſe together. Diviſion is the great inſtrument in which the Spaniards truſt for the preſervation of their colonies. The native Spaniard has alone all the lucrative offices, civil, eccleſiaſtical, and military. He deſpiſes the Creolian; the Creolian hates and envies him. Both contemn and maltreat the Indians, who, on their ſide, are not inſenſible of the indignities they ſuffer. The Blacks are encouraged to trample on the Indians, and to conſider their intereſts as altogether oppoſite; whilſt the Indians in their nominal freedom look with an envious diſdain upon the ſlavery of the Negroes, which makes them their maſters.

What is extraordinary, the Spaniards, not content with reducing this unhappy nation under ſo cruel a yoke, as if they thought it nothing unleſs they were thoroughly ſenſible of its weight, ſuffer the Indians to celebrate an annual feſtival, in which plays are repreſented, commemorating the overthrow of their own ſtate. Theſe are acted with all the horrid and aggravating circumſtances which attended this event; and the people are at this time ſo enraged, that the Spaniards find it dangerous to go abroad. In the city of Lima, there is annually celebrated a feſtival of this kind, with a grand proceſſion, wherein they carry in a ſort of triumph the remaining deſcendant of the yncas of Peru,

and

and his wife; who at that time receive all imaginable honours in the moſt melancholy pomp, from a race bowed down with the ſenſe of the common bondage of prince and people. This throws the moſt affecting gloom over the feſtival that renews the image of their former freedom. To this remaining ynca the viceroy of Peru does homage when he enters upon his government. The ynca ſits upon a lofty ſtage, and the viceroy makes his obeiſance upon an horſe, who is taught to kneel upon the occaſion. This manner of proceeding may be thought of the moſt refined ſtrain of inſolent tyranny, and to be as unpolitic as it is inſulting; but it is not impoſſible that thoſe vents, which they ſuffer the indignation of the people to take, may carry off a ſpirit, that might otherwiſe break out in a much more fatal manner. Whether by the diviſion they keep up, or by theſe vents, or by the management of the clergy, or by whatever means, the Spaniards preſerve their conqueſts with very little force; the Indians are even armed, and make a conſiderable part of their militia; it is true, they are interdicted the uſe of weapons without licence; but licence is procured without much difficulty. They have likewiſe a large number of free blacks, and they too are formed into companies in their militia. Certain it is, that, both in the Spaniſh and Portugueſe colonies, they find

ſlavery compatible enough with great licence in ſome reſpects, and both with the ſecurity of the maſters. Things deſerving our conſideration; as we do not ſeem to excel in the conciliating arts of government in our colonies, nor to think that any thing is to be effected by other inſtruments than thoſe of terror and rude force.

CHAP. XI.

The cities of Peru, Lima, Cuſco, and Quito; a deſcription of them. Callao, its trade and deſtruction. The viceroy of Peru. His juriſdiction, and revenues.

THERE are three cities in Peru famous for their opulence and trade; Lima, Cuſco, and Quito. Lima lies in the Northern part of Peru, in the latitude of 12 South, and 299 longitude from Teneriffe. It ſtands about two leagues from the ſea, upon a river called Rimac, ſmall and unnavigable. This city is the capital of Peru, and of all South America; it extends in length about two miles, and in breadth about one and a quarter; its diſtant appearance, from the multitude of ſpires and domes, is extremely majeſtic; and when you enter it you ſee the ſtreets laid out with the greateſt regularity, cutting each other at equal diſtances and right angles; the

houſes, on account of the equality of the climate, are ſlightly roofed, as they are built low and of light materials, to avoid the conſequences of earthquakes, frequent and dreadful in this country. But they are elegantly plaiſtered and painted on the outſide, ſo as to have all the appearance of free-ſtone. To add to the beauty and convenience of this city, moſt houſes have a garden, watered by cuts drawn from the river; each man commands a little running ſtream for his own uſe; in a hot and dry country as this is, no ſmall matter of convenience and delight. Here is a grand walk by the river-ſide two hundred fathom long, conſiſting of five rows of fine orange trees. To this the company reſorts at five in the evening drawn in their coaches and calaſhes*. Such is the opulence of this city, that, excluſive of coaches, there are kept in it upwards of five thouſand of theſe carriages.

Lima has fifty-four churches, taking in the cathedral, the parochial, and conventual; thirteen monaſteries of men (beſides ſix colleges of Jeſuits,) one of which contains ſeven hundred, and another five hundred friars and ſervants; twelve nunneries, the principal of

* The calaſh reſembles that ſort of coach which is called a Vis a Vis, but is drawn only by a ſingle horſe or mule, and goes on a ſingle pair of wheels; yet ſometimes by the gilding and other decorations the price of a calaſh amounts to a thouſand crowns.

which has not leſs than three hundred nuns; and twelve hoſpitals, beſides foundations for the portioning of poor girls. The number of whites is not leſs than 10,000; and the whole of the inhabitants of all caſts and colours are ſaid not to fall ſhort of 60,000 ſouls.

They tell a very remarkable fact, that may help us to ſome idea of the vaſt wealth of this city. When their viceroy the duke de la Palata made his public entry in 1682, they cauſed two of the principal ſtreets to be paved with ingots of ſilver, that had paid the fifth to the king, of between twelve and fifteen inches long, four or five in breadth, and two or three in thickneſs; the whole of which could not amount to leſs than ſixteen or ſeventeen millions ſterling. But nothing can give a true idea of the vaſt wealth of Lima, except the churches, which the moſt judicious travellers ſpeak of with aſtoniſhment; and ſeem incapable of deſcribing, on account of that amazing profuſion of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones with which every thing (even the walls) is in a manner totally covered. The tide of this vaſt wealth is fed from ſources as copious; this city being the great magazine for almoſt all the plate of Peru, which is coined here; for the large manufactures and natural products of that kingdom; for thoſe of Chili; and for all the luxuries and conveniences brought from Europe and the Eaſt-Indies.

The trade of the French to Peru, during the general war in Europe which was cauſed by the diſputes about the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, made this city decay not a little, by diffuſing the commerce, of which before it was the center, amongſt the other towns which lie along the coaſt; but, as that privilege has been ſince taken away, Lima began to revive again, and continued in great ſplendor until the year 1747, when a moſt tremendous earthquake, which entirely devoured Callao the port belonging to it, laid three fourths of this city level with the ground. The deſtruction of Callao was the moſt perfect and terrible that can be conceived; no more than one of all the inhabitants eſcaping, and he by a providence the moſt ſingular and extraordinary imaginable. This man was on the fort that overlooked the harbour, going to ſtrike the flag, when he perceived the ſea to retire to a conſiderable diſtance; and then ſwelling mountain high, it returned with great violence. The inhabitants ran from their houſes in the utmoſt terror and confuſion; he heard a cry of *Miſerere* riſe from all parts of the city; and immediately all was ſilent; the ſea had entirely overwhelmed this city, and buried it for ever in its boſom; but the ſame wave which deſtroyed this city, drove a little boat by the place where the man ſtood, into which he threw himſelf and was ſaved. What

is remarkable too in this affair, Mr. Frezier, who was in Peru in the year 1714, and from whom I have part of my materials, on conſidering the ſituation of this town and the nature of the country, ventured to propheſy for it the deſtruction, which we have ſeen accompliſhed in our days. Whilſt this town ſubſiſted, it contained about 3000 inhabitants of all kinds, had five convents, and poſſeſſed the fineſt port in all Peru. Here were the rich warehouſes furniſhed with all the goods of Europe, which being landed by the galleons at Porto-bello, were brought over land to Panama, and thence tranſported hither by the armadilla, or fleet, with a convoy of three men of war reſerved for this purpoſe. To this port arrived the annual ſhip from Acapulco laden with all the products of the Eaſt: form Chili it received vaſt quantities of corn, dried beef and pork, leather, tallow, plank, and ſeveral ſorts of woollen goods, particularly carpets like thoſe of Turkey. From the Southern ports of Peru were brought ſugars, wine and brandy, naval ſtores, cacao, Vigonia wool, and tobacco. From Mexico it had pitch and tar, woods for dying, and that balſam, which we improperly call of Peru, ſince it comes from Guatimala. As the port of Callao is ſo excellent, and as it is that by which the trade of Lima wholly, and that of all Peru in a great meaſure, muſt be carried

on, we cannot doubt but that a new city is already built there; and that Lima is reſtored to its former luſtre; eſpecially as this latter is the center of ſo vaſt a trade, and the ſeat of ſo great a government. For to the viceroy of Peru, both Chili and Terra Firma are ſubject. His ſettled ſalary is 40,000 pieces of eight yearly; his perquiſites are great; as often as he goes to Callao, he is intitled to 3000 pieces of eight for that little airing; he has 10,000 for every progreſs into more diſtant parts; he has the ſole diſpoſal of above an hundred great magiſtracies; and, in ſhort, the granting of all triennial employments both civil and military throughout the extent of his ample juriſdiction. It cannot therefore be doubted that his perquiſites, even his lawful ones (for there are many others,) at leaſt double the value of his ſalary. And certainly, whatever the king of Spain may loſe by the bad œconomy in his affairs, no prince in the world has ſuch means of rewarding the ſervices of his ſubjects, without any immediate burden upon his own revenues.

Cuſco, the capital of the ancient empire, is ſtill a very conſiderable city; it is at a good diſtance from the ſea, and ſituated in the mountainous part of the country; it has not leſs than forty thouſand inhabitants, three parts Indians, who are very induſtrious and ingenious. Tho' little inſtructed in the art, a taſte for paint-

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ing prevails, and ſome performances of the Indians of Cuſco and Quito have met with applauſe in Italy. An incredible quantity of pictures are painted here, and are diſperſed all over Peru and Chili. They have here likewiſe manufactures of bays and cotton, and they work largely in leather in moſt of the ways in which it is uſed.

Quito is likewiſe an inland town ſituated in the moſt Northern part of Peru; it is a very conſiderable place, and equal to any in Peru for the number of inhabitants, which are between fifty and ſixty thouſand; and it carries on a very extenſive trade with Lima, in manufactures of wool, cotton, and flax, which are wrought in the city and its diſtrict, and ſupply the greater part of the conſumption of the poorer ſort all over this kingdom. Few mines are worked in this diſtrict, tho' thought to abound in minerals; they receive plate in return for their own manufactures, and ſend it to Carthagena in return for thoſe of Europe.

It is not eaſy to calculate the number of inhabitants in Peru, becauſe we have none of thoſe data which are neceſſary to ground ſuch a calculation. There are ſeveral very large and populous towns diſperſed through that country; but in many places it is little better than a deſart; partly for want of water, but much more generally through the pride of one part of the people, the miſerable ſubjection of the other,

other, and the ſloth of all. The mines undoubtedly contribute largely to depopulate the country, by turning the inhabitants from agriculture and manufactures, employments that prolong life and provide for it, to the working of metals extremely pernicious to health, and which makes them depend upon others for their neceſſary ſuſtenance. The nations which are poor in reſpect of gold, and induſtrious from that poverty, have not the leaſt reaſon to envy the wealth of the Peruvians; who, amidſt all that extravagant glare that dazzles the eye, live penuriouſly and ſordidly; and are often in extreme want in a country, which in many places is one of the moſt fertile in the world. In fact, the countries which employ their men in arts and in agriculture, and receive their return in gold and ſilver, from the countries which abound in thoſe metals, may be conſidered as the real proprietors of the mines; the immediate poſſeſſors, only as their ſtewards to manage, or as their ſlaves to work them; whilſt they are employed themſelves at an eaſy labour, friendly to life, and neceſſary to their well-being.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The temperature of the air in Chili. The soil. Its fertility. A description of the principal towns. The trade of Chili.

IMmediately to the Southward of Peru lies Chili, extending itself in a long narrow slip along the coast of the South-Sea, in the South temperate zone. The air here is remarkably clear and serene. Scarce any changes happen for three parts of the year. Very little rain falls during that period. But the benign dews every night, and the many rivulets which the neighbourhood of the Andes supplies them, fertilize the plain country, and make it produce as much corn, wine, oil, and fruits, as the number of the inhabitants, which is very small, or their industry, which is but moderate, will suffer them to cultivate. If it were under a more favourable government, and better peopled, there is hardly any part of the world which could enter into competition with this. For at the same time that it enjoys a very healthful air, and is warmed by an heat no way oppressive, it bears many of the tropical fruits that would thrive no where else out of the torrid zone. It is luxuriant on the surface with every thing for profit and delight; and beneath it is rich to profusion with veins

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of gold, ſilver, copper, lead, quickſilver, and iron. Thoſe of gold are the moſt wrought; and indeed there is ſcarce a rivulet in the country in which gold is not found in ſmaller or greater plenty; but want of people, which is here more felt than in the other Spaniſh ſettlements, hinders them from working all their mines, and, what is worſe, from improving the ſurface of their country to any thing like the degree of perfection to which it might be brought. For in this whole extent of country, upwards of twelve hundred miles in length, and from three hundred to five hundred miles in breadth, it is not reckoned they have much above twenty thouſand whites fit to bear arms, and about three times that number of Indians, Blacks, and Mulattoes. Yet, with ſo few hands, and thoſe not the moſt induſtrious, they export annually from the ports of Chili, to Calloa, and other parts of Peru, corn enough to ſupport ſixty thouſand men, for no country in the world is more prolific in grain of every ſpecies; they export beſides great quantities of wine, hemp (which is raiſed in no other part on the South-Seas), hides, tallow, and ſalted proviſions; to ſay nothing of the gold, and other minerals, which form their principal wealth. The people are much employed in paſturage; and cattle are here in ſuch plenty, that an ox fatted may be had for four dollars; a great proof of

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the fertility of a country where there is no ſcarcity of money. But as they have a conſiderable trade in dried and ſalted beef, hides, and tallow, they conſtantly drive great numbers of horned cattle from the other ſide of the Andes, from the province of Tucuman in Paragua. Chili has but a very few beaſts of prey, and thoſe timorous; and although toads, ſnakes, and ſcorpions, are here as numerous as in other hot countries, they are found entirely harmleſs.

There are in Chili four towns of ſome note, either on the ſea, or near it; St. Jago, which is the capital, and contains about 4000 families, La Conception, Coquimbo or La Serena, and Baldivia. The three firſt of theſe towns are laid out in a manner exactly reſembling each other, the ſtreets like thoſe of Lima, cutting one another ſo as to form ſquares like thoſe of a draft board. They have all gardens between the houſes, and running waters drawn from the neighbouring rivers to fertilize them; but the houſes are ſo low and meanly built (mud walls, and thatch in ſome) that they rather reſemble agreeable country villages, than cities of buſineſs and grandeur. However, ſome of the houſes are well furniſhed, and it is ſaid, that in St. Jago there are many, which have the meaneſt utenſils of the kitchen, of gold and ſilver. As for Baldivia, it is not more remarkable for being

being the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the South-Seas, than for the manner in which it is peopled; for hither the criminals from Peru and the other parts of Chili are tranſported, either for a time or for life, and obliged to labour upon the fortifications and other public works. What is ſingular, theſe criminals are at once the priſoners and the jailors; for the garriſon of the place, the whole corps, ſoldiers and officers, is formed of no other. The town contains about two thouſand ſouls, and all of them baniſhed people, or the deſcendants of ſuch.

The maritime trade of Chili is entirely confined to what they carry on with Peru, one or two ports of New Spain, and Panama. Their ſhips rarely penetrate the ſtreights of Magellan, or paſs Cape Horn. But they have a conſiderable inland commerce with Tucuman, Buenos-Ayres, and other parts of Paragua, from which they get the herb of Paragua, bees-wax, and cattle.

CHAP. XIII.

The Spaniards in this province but few. The Americans, their character. Some free.

AS in Chili they are weak in men, have a large body of independent Indians, ill-affected to them on their borders; as the Dutch

Dutch once attempted an eſtabliſhment here, and as other people have nouriſhed projects of the ſame nature; they are extremely cautious and watchful on the coaſt, and the country is immediately in arms upon every alarm, which is given when any ſhip appears off the coaſt that is not Spaniſh built: yet, notwithſtanding all their caution, their ſecurity is rather owing to the ſyſtem of Europe, of which it is a part to keep the Spaniſh poſſeſſions in the hand of the preſent proprietors, and to the difficult and dangerous paſſage of the ſtreights of Magellan or Cape Horne, for any European armament of force, than either to their own ſtrength or vigilance.

The Indian inhabitants of Chili are a brave and warlike people, who defended their liberties vigorouſly, made ſeveral ſucceſsful inſurrections, killed Peter Baldivia the conqueror of the country, and maintained a war againſt the whole Spaniſh power in that part of the world for ſeveral years; which was only terminated, on the part of ſeveral of the nations near the mountains, by an honourable peace, which is preſerved to this day. None can be more jealouſly watchful than this people of their freedom. They traffic indeed with the Spaniards, but with ſo much caution, and under limitations ſo ſtrict, that they can take very little advantage of this communication. As for thoſe who are obliged to ſubmit, it is

to a yoke nothing near so heavy as that which oppreſſes the people who inhabit the other Spaniſh provinces; partly from the better terms which were procured; and partly from the fear of a nation, whom they have experienced to be brave, and know to be ſurrounded with many, who are of the ſame blood, and have defended their freedom with better ſucceſs. A good example, even in the unfortunate, how much a brave defence of liberty may contribute to procure, if nothing elſe, yet a more tolerable ſervitude. The Indians of this country have more reſemblance to thoſe of North America, though more humane and civiliſed in their manners, than to the Peruvians and Mexicans. Here they have leſs ſuperſtition naturally; and, far from having that exceſſive veneration which thoſe nations had for their kings, they have no kings at all, and very little form of government; each family being ſovereign within itſelf, and independent. The buſineſs which concerns them all, is tranſacted in the aſſemblies of all; and the plurality of voices decides. They are much given to liquor; and they practiſe polygamy, which in America is not common. However, the Spaniſh miſſionaries have now made a conſiderable progreſs amongſt theſe free nations; they have a college for the education of the Indian youth; and their influence is a great means of preſerving peace between the Spaniſh

settlements and the free Indians on their borders, which, without their assistance, would be difficult. For, though they listen to the Spanish priests, they preserve a very just terror of falling under their government, and no small hatred to the people.

CHAP. XIV.

The climate of Paraguay. Its rivers. The province of La Plata. The town of Buenos-Ayres. Its trade.

THE country of Paraguay, or La Plata, shuts up the Eastern side of a considerable part of Chili and Peru; whence extending over a tract of country, above a thousand miles broad, it bounds Brazil upon the West, and upon the South butts upon the Atlantic ocean; being fifteen hundred miles at least in length, from the mouth of the great river Plata to its Northern boundary the country of the Amazons. This vast territory is far from being wholly subdued or planted by the Spaniards. There are many parts in a great degree unknown to them, or to any other people of Europe. In such a vast country, and lying in climates so different, for it lies on the Northern frontier under the equinoctial line, and on the South advances to the thirty-seventh degree of latitude, far into the South temperate

ite zone, we muſt expect to meet great diverſity of ſoil and product. However, in general, this great country is fertile; the paſtures particularly are ſo rich that they are covered with innumerable herds of black cattle, horſes, and mules; in which hardly any body thinks it worth his while to claim a property. Any perſon takes and breaks them according to his occaſions.

This country, beſides an infinite number of ſmaller rivers, is watered by three principal ones, which unite near the ſea, to form the famous Rio de la Plata. The firſt is Paraguay, from whence the country is denominated; this forms the main channel. It has its origin from a great lake in the center of South America, called the lake of Xarayes, and runs in a courſe nearly North and South. Parana, which riſes amongſt the mountains on the frontiers of Brazil, runs a ſloping courſe to the South-Weſt, until it joins the Paraguay, at a great diſtance from the ocean, about the twenty-ſeventh degree of South latitude. Uraguay riſes likewiſe upon the ſame ſide, and runs almoſt an equal courſe before it meets thoſe united rivers at no great diſtance from the ocean, with which it mixes along with them.

The principal province which concerns us, in this vaſt tract, is that which is called Rio de la Plata, towards the mouth of the above-mentioned rivers. This province, with all the ad-

jacent parts, is one continued level, interrupted by not the leaſt hill for ſeveral hundreds of miles every way; extremely fertile in moſt things; but, contrary to the general nature of America, deſtitute of woods; this want they endeavour to ſupply by plantations of every kind of fruit trees; all which thrive here to admiration. The air is remarkably ſweet and ſerene, and the waters of the great river are equally pure and wholeſome; they annually overflow their banks; and, on their receſs, leave them enriched with a ſlime, which produces the greateſt plenty of whatever is committed to it.

The principal town is Buenos-Ayres, on the South-ſide of the river; it was ſo called upon account of the excellence of the air. This town is the only place of traffic to the Southward of Brazil; yet its trade, conſidering the rich and extenſive country to which it is the avenue, is very conſiderable. No regular fleet comes here, as to the other parts of Spaniſh America; two, or at moſt three, regiſter ſhips make the whole of their regular intercourſe with Europe. Their returns are very valuable, conſiſting chiefly of gold, ſilver, ſugar, and hides. I cannot learn that they have opened any conſiderable mines in this province; but it is probable there are rich ones in the provinces which lie to the Eaſtward of the Andes; beſides, it is certain that a good deal of gold is

returned from Chili, for the mules, cattle, and tea, which are ſent thither; and that ſilver from the province of Los Chareas in Peru is ſent upon the ſame account, for the moſt part by land-carriage. There is beſides a tolerable water-carriage; for a large river, called Pilcomayo, riſes not far from the mines of Potoſi, which, winding amongſt the openings of the Cordillera, diſcharges itſelf at laſt into the Paraguay; and this river is navigable to the very ſource, allowing for the interruption of ſome falls, which is the caſe of the river of Plata itſelf. By this way it is, I judge, that a great quantity of ſilver comes to Buenos-Ayres. Indeed it is in great plenty in that province; and thoſe who have now and then carried on a contraband trade to this country, have found it far more advantageous than any other whatſoever. The benefit of this contraband is now wholly in the hands of the Portugueſe, who keep magazines for that purpoſe in the adjacent parts of Brazil.

CHAP. XV.

The territory of the jesuits in Paraguay. Their manner of settling and governing it. The obedience of the people. Some reflections on the late transactions there.

THE trade of Paraguay, and the manners of the people, are so much the same with those of the rest of the Spanish colonies in South America, that nothing further can be said on those articles; but it would be inexcusable to quit the country without saying something of that extraordinary species of commonwealth which the jesuits have erected in the interior parts.

About the middle of the last century those fathers represented to the court of Madrid, that their want of success in their missions was owing to the scandal which the immorality of the Spaniards never fail to give, and to the hatred which their insolent behaviour caused in the Indians wherever they came. They insinuated, that, if it were not for that impediment, the empire of the gospel might, by their labours, have been extended into the most unknown parts of America; and that all those countries might be subdued to his catholic majesty's obedience, without expence and without force. This remonstrance was

listened

liſtened to with attention; the ſphere of their labours was marked out; an uncontrouled liberty was given to the jeſuits within theſe limits; and the governors of the adjacent provinces had orders not to interfere, nor to ſuffer any Spaniard to enter into this pale, without licence from the fathers. They, on their part, agreed to pay a certain capitation tax in proportion to their flock; and to ſend a certain number to the king's works whenever they ſhould be demanded, and the miſſions ſhould become populous enough to ſupply them.

On theſe terms, the jeſuits entered upon the ſcene of action, and opened their ſpiritual campaign. They began by gathering together about fifty wandering families, whom they perſuaded to ſettle; and they united them into a little townſhip. This was the ſlight foundation upon which they have built a ſuperſtructure, which has amazed the world, and added ſo much power, at the ſame time that it has brought on ſo much envy and jealouſy, to their ſociety. For when they had made this beginning, they laboured with ſuch indefatigable pains, and with ſuch maſterly policy, that, by degrees, they mollified the minds of the moſt ſavage nations; fixed the moſt rambling; and ſubdued the moſt averſe to government. They prevailed upon thouſands of various diſperſed tribes of people to embrace

their religion, and to ſubmit to their government; and when they had ſubmitted, the jeſuits left nothing undone, that could conduce to their remaining in this ſubjection, or that could tend to increaſe their number to the degree requiſite for a well-ordered and potent ſociety; and their labours were attended with ſucceſs.

It is ſaid, that, from ſuch inconſiderate beginnings, ſeveral years ago, their ſubjects amounted to three hundred thouſand families. They lived in towns; they were regularly clad; they laboured in agriculture; they exerciſed manufactures. Some even aſpired to the elegant arts. They were inſtructed in the military with the moſt exact diſcipline; and could raiſe ſixty thouſand men well armed. To effect theſe purpoſes, from time to time, they brought over from Europe ſeveral handicraftſmen, muſicians, and painters. Theſe, I am told, were principally from Germany and Italy.

We are far from being able to trace, with the exactneſs they deſerve, all the ſteps which were taken in the accompliſhment of ſo extraordinary a conqueſt over the bodies and minds of ſo many people, without arms or violence, and differently from the methods of all other conqueſts; not by cutting off a large part of the inhabitants to ſecure the reſt, but by multiplying their people, whilſt they extended

tended their territory. Their own accounts are not very ample, and they are partial to themselves without doubt. What some others have written, is with a glaring prejudice against them. The particulars which seem best agreed upon by both sides are the only ones to be mentioned.

It is agreed then, that in each mission or district (the country is divided into forty-seven districts) a jesuit presides in chief. But magistrates are settled in every town, answerable to those in the Spanish cities; these are always Indians, elected by the people, and approved by the presiding jesuit: on solemn occasions they appear in rich robes of ceremony, attended with a suitable retinue, and every thing which may make for the dignity of their government. The people, which compose this commonwealth, are composed chiefly of two nations or tribes, one called Garanies, the other Chiquitos. The latter are active, lively and ingenious, therefore their œconomy is more left to themselves, and they have something of property, but there is something too in common. Amongst the Garanies there is no property; every thing is done under the public eye, and for the public; for otherwise this people, naturally lazy and stupid to the last degree, would be in perpetual want. Each man's labour is allotted him in proportion to his strength, or to his skill in the profession

which

which he exercises. The product is brought faithfully into the public magazines, from whence he is again supplied with all things which the managers judge to be expedient for the ſuſtenance of himſelf or his family. All neceſſaries are diſtributed regularly twice a week; and the magazines always contain ſuch a ſtock of proviſions and goods of every kind, as to anſwer not only the ordinary exigencies, but to provide againſt a time of ſcarcity, or for thoſe whom accidents, age, or infirmities, have diſqualified for labour. Thus want is never known amongſt them; their villages are cleanly and decent, greatly exceeding thoſe of the Spaniards in their neighbourhood. Their churches are particularly grand, and richly adorned; and ſervice is in them performed with all the ſolemnity and magnificence of cathedrals; nor are good voices and inſtruments wanting.

They provide early for the marriage of their young people, as well to prevent diſorders, as to multiply their ſubjects. Here, as intereſt can be no motive to the union, there are few difficulties attending it. The young man applies to the governing jeſuit, informs him of his deſire of marriage, and names the party: ſhe is conſulted, and if there is no objection upon her part, they are immediately married. They are ſupplied with all neceſſaries for their eſtabliſhment from the public ſtores, and they

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have at the same time their task allotted them, by which they are to make amends for what they have received, and to provide for others in their turn.

The Indian magistrate is obliged continually to watch over the minutest actions of his people, and to give the jesuit an exact account of the state of his district, and the merit and demerit of the people which it contains. They are rewarded or punished according to this report. The punishment for smaller crimes is by imprisonment, for greater by whipping, from which it is said not even the principal magistrates are exempted. Capital punishments they do not inflict, as indeed crimes deserving such punishments are rarely committed amongst them. The correction is received by all, not only with patience, but acknowledgment. The rewards are seldom more than benedictions, and some slight marks of the jesuits favour, which make those men entirely happy.

Nothing can equal the obedience of the people of these missions, except their contentment under it. Far from murmuring, that they have only necessaries of life, by a labour which might in some degree procure them the conveniencies of it, they think themselves a distinguished and favoured people in wanting them, and they believe their obedience a duty, that not only secures their order and repose in

this world, but the very beſt means of inſuring their happineſs in the next. This is carefully inculcated; and indeed, beſides their attention to the government, the jeſuits are indefatigable in their inſtructions in the doctrines of religion, the regularity of life, and the contempt of this world. And by what I can find, the Indians under their juriſdiction are an innocent people, civilized without being corrupted.

The jeſuits who govern them, are ſaid to be extremely ſtrict in preſerving their privilege in keeping all ſtrangers from amongſt them. If any ſuch ſhould, by accident or in his journey, arrive in the country of the miſſions, he is immediately carried to the preſbytery, where he is treated for a day, or two at moſt, with great hoſpitality; but regarded with no leſs circumſpection. The curioſities of the place are ſhewed him in company with the jeſuit, and he can have no private converſation with any of the natives. In a reaſonable time, he is civilly diſmiſſed, with a guard to conduct him to the next diſtrict, without expence, where he is treated in the ſame manner, until he is out of the country of the miſſions. Cautions altogether as ſtrict, and in the ſame ſpirit, are obſerved, when the natives are obliged to go out of their own territory to ſerve in the king's works, or when any part of their troops are called out for his ſervice. They ſhun all man-

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ner of converſation with ſtrangers, upon whom they look with a ſort of horror; and ſo return, uninformed and untainted, into their own country as they left it.

I am ſenſible, that many have repreſented the conduct of the jeſuits in this miſſion in a very bad light; but their reflections appear to me not at all ſupported by the facts upon which they build them. To judge perfectly of the ſervice they have done their people, we muſt not conſider them in a parallel with the flouriſhing nations of Europe, but as compared with their neighbours, the ſavages of South America, or with the ſtate of thoſe Indians who groan under the Spaniſh yoke. Conſidering it in this, which is the true light, it will appear, that human ſociety is infinitely obliged to them for adding to it three hundred thouſand families in a well-regulated community, in the room of a few vagabond untaught ſavages. And indeed, it can ſcarce be conceived, that the government has not ſome extraordinary perfection, which has a principle of increaſe within it, which draws others to unite themſelves to the old ſtock, and ſhoots out itſelf a luxuriance of new branches. Neither can we, by any means, blame a ſyſtem which produces ſuch ſalutary effects; and which has found that difficult, but happy way, that grand deſideratum in politics, of uniting a perfect ſubjection to an entire con-

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tent and ſatisfaction of the people. Matters, which, it were to be wiſhed, were ſtudied with more attention by us, who content ourſelves with railing at the diligence of an adverſary, which we ſhould rather praiſe and imitate; and who, in our affairs, ſeldom think of uſing any other inſtruments than force or money.

This commonwealth is now become a ſubject of much converſation, upon account of the ceſſion which has lately been made of part of that territory to the crown of Portugal. It is well known, that the inhabitants of ſeven of the miſſions refuſed to comply with this diviſion, or to ſuffer themſelves to be transferred from one hand to another, like cattle, without their own conſent *. We are informed by the authority of the Gazette, that the Indians actually took up arms; but, notwithſtanding the exactneſs of their diſcipline, they were eaſily, and with a conſiderable ſlaughter, defeated by the European troops, who were ſent to quell them. It ſeems to have been ill-judged in this people, who had never ſeen any real ſervice, nor were headed by officers who had ſeen any, without which the beſt diſcipline is but a ſort of play, to have hazarded a battle with troops

* The jeſuits have been entirely diſgraced at the court of Portugal, for the ſhare they are ſaid to have had in this reſiſtance.

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from Europe. They ought rather to have firſt habituated themſelves to action by attacking ſmall parties, by cutting off convoys, by little ſurprizes, until, by uſe and ſucceſs in ſmaller matters, they were entitled to hazard the fate of their affairs in the open field. However, it is not improbable, that this oppoſition will rouze the indolence of the Spaniards, and make them take the government of the country out of the hands it is in at preſent. If they do, it is not difficult to foreſee, that the ſame depopulation, the ſame diſtreſs, and the ſame diſcontent, which diſtinguiſh the Indians in the reſt of the Spaniſh provinces, will be ſoon equally viſible in this. It will not be difficult for them to effect the reduction of this country; for the jeſuits have too large and valuable an intereſt in Old Spain, as well as in the new world, to diſpute it with the court, whenever they ſhall demanded in good earneſt to have this country ſurrendered; if it be true, that the jeſuits have really ſuch influence on the inhabitants as is attributed to them.

It was not originally ſuch bad policy, as it may ſeem, to have intruſted the jeſuits with ſo great a power; ſince a little time will ſhew, that they have given them a territory unknown, unpeopled, and uncultivated, which they have the certain means of repoſſeſſing when they pleaſe, ſubdued, peopled, and cultivated

dicted. As to its wealth, it is hard to say any thing certain; the jesuits deny it. And truly, if they acted with a perfect policy, they would never have suffered any mines of gold or silver to be opened in that country. Of this matter I have no information upon which I can depend.

CHAP. XVI.

Terra Firma. Its extent and produce. The cities of Panama, Carthagena, and Porto-bello. The galleons. The isle of Cuba. The Havanna. Hispaniola. Porto Rico. Reflections on the policy of Spain with regard to the Colonies.

THE Spaniards have not made any settlements in the other divisions of South-America, which they claim to the Southward of Buenos-Ayres, nor to the Northward, except in Terra Firma, of which we shall say something. The country of the Amazons, though prodigiously large, wonderfully fertile, and watered by so noble a river, is almost entirely neglected. The river of Amazons, called also Maranon and Orellana, which waters and gives its name to this country, arising from the union of several streams that fall from the Cordillera, runs a course of no less than 1100 leagues; it flows for the

greater part through a level country covered with the fairest and loftiest forests in the world, in which it forms an innumerable multitude of delightful islands; and receiving on both sides the copious tribute of several rivers almost equal to itself in greatness, increasing in breadth to a sort of sea, and to a depth which in some parts has been in vain searched with a line of upwards an hundred fathoms, it rushes at length into the Atlantic ocean by two mouths of an astonishing wideness, the principal being 45 leagues broad, the smaller not less than twelve. The country on this fine river has no other inhabitants than Indians, some savage, some united under Spanish and Portuguese missionaries.

The country of Patagonia is likewise of a vast stretch to the Southward of Buenos-Ayres, all in the temperate zone, and extended all along the Atlantic ocean. It is a plain country without trees; but this is the case of the delightful and fertile country of Buenos-Ayres. It is said likewise to be barren and desert; but, what is certain, it is unsettled by any European nation, and little known, tho it lies open for any power that can avail itself of a favourable opportunity to establish a colony there.

The last province, according to the order I have observed, though not of the least consequence in the Spanish American dominions, is

Terra Firma; a vaſt country, above 2000 miles in length, and 500 broad. Bordering on Mexico, Peru, and Amazonia, it ſtretches all along the North ſea, from the Pacific ocean to the mouth of the river of Amazons upon the Atlantic. It is divided into twelve large provinces. They all contain a vaſt deal of high and mountainous country, particularly the province of St. Martha, where there are ſaid to be hills ſurpaſſing Teneriffe itſelf in height. Theſe hills communicate with the Andes. The valleys are deep and narrow, and for a great part of the year flooded; but though Terra Firma is, on the coaſt, the moſt unpleaſant and moſt unhealthful country in the torrid zone, the plain grounds are extremely fertile; produce corn enough, when cultivated; all kinds of the tropical fruits; rich drugs; cacao, vanilla, indigo, piemento, guaiacum, ſarſaparilla, and balſam of Peru. No country abounds more in rich and luxuriant paſturage, or has a greater ſtock of black cattle. Their rivers have rich golden ſands; their coaſts have good pearl fiſheries; and their mines formerly yielded great quantities of gold; but at preſent they are neglected or exhauſted; ſo that the principal wealth of this kingdom ariſes from the commerce of Carthagena; and what treaſure is ſeen there is moſtly the return for European commodities which are ſent from that port to Santafé,

Popayan, and Quito: and rubies and emeralds are here found in plenty; but, the value of precious ſtones depending more on fancy than that of gold or ſilver, this trade has conſiderably declined.

This province has a very conſiderable ſhare of the trade of Europe; not only on account of its own produce and demand, but becauſe all the intercourſe of Peru and Chili with Old Spain is carried on through this country, for, as we have mentioned, Carthagena ſupplies. Its capital city Panama, is the great barcadier of the South-Sea. Hither is brought all the treaſure which the rich mines of Peru and Chili pay to the king, or produce upon a private account.

The city of Panama is ſituated upon one of the beſt harbours, in all reſpects, of the South-Seas. Ships of burden lie ſafe at ſome diſtance from the town; but ſmaller veſſels come up to the walls. In this bay is a pearl fiſhery of great value. The town, one of the largeſt in America, is ſaid to contain five thouſand houſes, elegantly built of brick and ſtone, diſpoſed in a ſemicircular form, and enlivened with the ſpires and domes of ſeveral churches and monaſteries. It is covered on the land ſide with an agreeable country, diverſified with hills, valleys, and woods. The town ſtands upon a dry and tolerably healthful ground, and has a great and profitable trade with Peru,

Chili, and the Weſtern coaſt of Mexico, chiefly for proviſions of every ſort both of the animal and vegetable kinds; corn, wine, ſugar, oil, with tallow, leather, and jeſuits bark. In the neighbourhood of this city they raiſe nothing; and yet, by traffic and their convenient ſituation, there are few cities more abundantly ſupplied with all things for neceſſity, convenience, or luxury. Their trade with the Terra Firma and with Europe is carried on over the iſthmus of Darien, and by the river Chagra.

The ſecond town of conſideration in Terra Firma, is Carthagena, which ſtands upon a peninſula, that incloſes one of the ſafeſt and beſt defended harbours in all the Spaniſh America. The town itſelf is well fortified, and built after the elegant faſhion of moſt of the Spaniſh American towns, with a ſquare in the middle, and ſtreets running every way regularly from it, and others cutting theſe at right angles. This town has many rich churches and convents; that of the jeſuits is particularly magnificent. Here it is that the galleons on their voyage from Spain put in firſt, and diſpoſe of a conſiderable part of their cargo; which from hence is diſtributed to St. Martha, the Caraccas, Venezuela, and moſt of the other provinces and towns in the Terra Firma.

The

The fleet which is called the galleons conſiſts of about eight men of war, of about fifty guns each, deſigned principally to ſupply Peru with military ſtores; but in reality, laden not only with theſe, but with every other kind of merchandize on a private account; ſo as to be in bad condition for defending themſelves, or protecting others. Under the convoy of theſe, ſail about twelve merchant ſhips, not inferior in burden. This fleet of the galleons is regulated in much the ſame manner with the flotas, and it is deſtined for the excluſive commerce of Terra Firma and the South-Sea, as the flota is for that of Mexico.

No ſooner is this fleet arrived in the haven of Carthagena, than expreſſes are immediately diſpatched to Porto-bello, and to all the adjacent towns, but principally to Panama; that they may get ready all the treaſure which is depoſited there, to meet the galleons at Porto-bello; in which town, (remarkable for the goodneſs of its harbour, which brings ſuch a ſurprizing concourſe here at the time of the fair, and the unwholſomeneſs of the air, which makes it a deſart at all other times) all the perſons concerned in the various branches of this extenſive traffic aſſemble; and there is certainly no part of the world where buſineſs of ſuch great importance is negotiated in ſo ſhort a time. For in about a fortnight the fair is over; during which the diſplay of the gold, ſilver, and

precious ſtones, on the one hand, and of all the curioſity and variety of the ingenious fabriſics of Europe on the other, is aſtoniſhing. Heaps of wedges and ingots of ſilver are tumbled about on the wharfs like common things. At this time an hundred crowns are given for a poor lodging, a thouſand for a ſhop, and proviſion of every kind is proportionably dear; which may help us to ſome idea of the profits made in this trade. The treaſure is brought hither from Panama, by a very dangerous road, upon mules. The other goods, ſugar, tobacco, and drugs, are tranſported on the river Chagra.

When the galleons have taken in their returns, they ſteer together to the Havanna, which is the place of rendezvous of all the ſhips concerned in the Spaniſh American trade.

The Havanna is the capital city of the iſland of Cuba, it is ſituated upon an excellent harbour upon the Weſtern extremity of the iſland. This city is large, containing not leſs than two thouſand houſes, with a number of churches and convents; but then it is the only place of conſequence upon the noble iſland of Cuba, which lies in the latitude 20, and extends from Eaſt to Weſt near ſeven hundred miles in length, though in breadth it is diſproportioned, being but from one hundred and twenty to ſeventy miles. However, it yields

yields to no part of the Weſt-Indies in the fertility of its ſoil, or in excellence of every thing which is produced in that climate. But the Spaniards, by a ſeries of the moſt inhuman and impolitic barbarities, having exterminated the original inhabitants, and not finding the quantities of gold in the iſlands which the continent afforded, they have left this, as well as Hiſpaniola, of which the French now poſſeſs the greater part, and Porto Rico, a large, excellent, and fertile iſland, comparatively ſo many deſarts. The commerce between theſe iſlands and the Spaniſh continent, is carried on by the Barlevento fleet, conſiſting of ſix ſhips of good burthen and force, who annually make the tour of all theſe iſlands, and the coaſt of Terra Firma, not only to carry on the commerce between thoſe places, but to clear the ſea of pirates and illicit traders. Now and then a regiſter ſhip from Old Spain is bound to one or other of theſe iſlands. Hitherto the Spaniards ſeemed rather to keep them, to prevent any other nation from growing too powerful in thoſe ſeas, than for any profit they expected to derive from them. And it is certain, that if other nations ſhould come entirely to poſſeſs the whole of the iſlands, the trade of the American continent, and perhaps the continent itſelf, would be entirely at their mercy. However, of late, the Spaniards have taken ſome ſteps towards the bet-

ter ſettlement of Porto Rico. They are beginning to open the American trade to ſome other towns in Spain beſides Cadiz. They have made a difference in point of duty between their own manufactures and thoſe of foreigners. They are, in ſhort, opening their eyes to the true intereſt of their country, and moving their hands, though ſlowly, to promote it.

About this time, the tide of wealth, that conſtantly flowed from America into Spain, ran through that kingdom like a haſty torrent, which, far from enriching the country, hurried away with it all the wealth which it found in its paſſage. No country in Europe receives ſuch vaſt treaſures as Spain. In no country in Europe is ſeen ſo little money. The truth is, from the time that the Indies fell into the hands of Spain, the affairs of that monarchy have been conſtantly going backward. In America their ſettlements were carried on conformably to that genius, and to thoſe maxims, which prevailed in their government in Europe. No means of retaining their conqueſts, but by extirpating the people; no ſchemes for the advancement of trade; no attempts at the reformation of abuſes, which became venerable in proportion to the miſchiefs they had ſuffered by them. In government, tyranny; in religion, bigotry; in trade, monopoly.

When

When the Spaniards found, to their ambition which was boundleſs, that they had joined a treaſure which was inexhauſtible, they imagined there was nothing too vaſt for them to compaſs. They embraced a thouſand projects at once; many of them noble ones in theory, but to be executed with different inſtruments in different parts of the world, and all at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure. The wars, which were the reſult of theſe ſchemes, and the Indies, which were to ſupport them, were a continual drain, which carried off their people, and deſtroyed all induſtry in thoſe who remained. The treaſure which flowed in every year from the new world, found them in debt to every part of the old; for to the reſt of their revenues they had forgot to add that, which is a great revenue itſelf, and the great ſupport of all the others, œconomy. On the contrary, an ill order in their finances at home, and a devouring uſury abroad, ſwallowed up all their treaſure, whilſt they multiplied the occaſions for it. With the beſt ſcheming heads in Europe, they were every where outwitted; with the braveſt and beſt diſciplined troops, they were almoſt always defeated; with the greateſt treaſures, they were in want; and their armies were ill provided, and ill paid. Their friends exhauſted them by trade; their enemies by plunder. They ſaw new ſtates ariſe out of the fragments of their dominions; and

and new maritime powers ſtart up from the wrecks of their navy. In ſhort, they provoked, troubled, and enriched all Europe; and at laſt deſiſted through mere want of ſtrength. They were inactive, but not quiet; and they were enervated as much by their lazineſs during this repoſe, as they had been weakened before by their ill-judged activity.

All this happened in a country, which abounded with men of capacity as much as any ſtate in Europe, and often with men of great capacity at its head. But their talents took a wrong turn; their politics were always more abroad than at home; more employed in weakening their neighbours, than in ſtrengthening themſelves. They were wiſe in the concerns of foreign courts; they were ſatisfied with being formal in their own domeſtic buſineſs. They relied too much upon their riches; and the whole ſtate, being moulded into a ſyſtem of corruption from the top to the bottom, things grew at laſt ſo bad, that the evils themſelves became a ſort of remedies; and they felt ſo ſeverely the conſequences of their former conduct, that they have for ſome years paſt turned their thoughts into a very good channel; and they may in time, and with perſeverance, riſe again, whilſt others ſhall fall, by adopting the abuſes which brought them to ruin.

At preſent the politics of Spain, with regard to America, ſeem to be, to preſerve South America, and particularly the navigation of the South-Seas, as much as poſſible to themſelves; to deſtroy effectually the contraband trade, and to encourage the export of their own manufactures. Of us they have long ſhewn a remarkable jealouſy; a much greater than of the French, whom they ſee quietly ſettling in the neighbourhood of New Mexico; and who are growing certainly in the Weſt-Indies in a far greater degree than we are. I ſhall not pretend to account for this diſtinction.

End of the THIRD PART.

PART

PART IV.

The Portugueſe Settlements.

CHAP. I.

An account of the diſcovery of Brazil. The method of ſettling it. Conquered by the Dutch. Reconquered by the Portugueſe.

IT is very rare that any material diſcovery, whether in the arts, in philoſophy, or in navigation, has been owing to efforts made directly for that particular purpoſe, and determined by the force of reaſonings *a priori*. The firſt hints are owing to accident; and diſcoveries in one kind preſent themſelves voluntarily to us, whilſt we are in ſearch of what flies from us in ſome other. The diſcovery of America by Columbus was owing originally to a juſt reaſoning on the figure of the earth, tho' the particular land he diſcovered was far

enough

enough from that which he ſought. Here was a mixture of wiſe deſign and fortunate accident; but the Portugueſe diſcovery of Brazil may be conſidered as merely accidental. For ſailing with a conſiderable armament to India, by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, but ſtanding out to ſea to avoid the calms upon the coaſt of Africa, the Portugueſe fleet fell in upon the continent of South America. Upon their return they made ſo favourable a report of the land they had diſcovered, that the court reſolved to ſend a colony thither. And accordingly made their firſt eſtabliſhment; but in a very bad method, in which it were to be wiſhed they had never been imitated. This was by baniſhing thither a number of criminals of all kinds. This blended an evil diſpoſition with the firſt principles of the colony, and made the ſettlement infinitely difficult by the diſorders inſeparable from ſuch people, and the offence which they gave the original inhabitants. This ſettlement met with ſome interruption too from the court of Spain, who conſidered the country as within their dominions. However, matters were accommodated by a treaty, in which it was agreed, that the Portugueſe ſhould poſſeſs all that tract of land that lies between the river Maranon, or of the Amazons, and the river Plate.

When their right was thus confirmed, the Portugueſe purſued the ſettlement with great vigour.

vigour. Large grants were made to thoſe who were inclined to become adventurers; and almoſt all the nobility of Portugal procured intereſts in a country which promiſed ſuch great advantages. The natives were in moſt parts ſubdued, and the improvement of the colony advanced apace. The crown in a little time became attentive to ſo valuable an acquiſition; the government was new modelled, many of the exorbitants recalled, and all things ſettled upon ſo advantageous a footing, that the whole ſea-coaſt, upwards of two thouſand miles, was in ſome meaſure ſettled, to the honour of the induſtry and courage of the firſt planters, and infinitely to the benefit of the mother-country. The Portugueſe conqueſts on the coaſt of Africa forwarded this eſtabliſhment, by the number of Negroes it afforded them for their works; and this was the firſt introduction of Negroes into America, of which at preſent they form a large part of the inhabitants.

In the very meridian of their proſperity, when the Portugueſe were in poſſeſſion of ſo extenſive an empire, and ſo flouriſhing a trade in Africa, in Arabia, in India, in the iſles of Aſia, and in one of the moſt valuable parts of America, they were ſtruck down by one of thoſe incidents, that by one blow, in a critical time, decides the fate of kingdoms. Don Sebaſtian, one of their greateſt princes,

in

in an expedition he had undertaken againſt the Moors, loſt his life; and by that accident the Portugueſe loſt their liberty, being abſorbed into the Spaniſh dominions.

Soon after this misfortune, the ſame yoke that galled the Portugueſe, grew ſo intolerable to the inhabitants of the Netherlands, that they threw it off with great fury and indignation. Not ſatisfied with erecting themſelves into an independent ſtate, and ſupporting their independency by a ſucceſsful defenſive war, flushed with the juvenile ardor of a growing commonwealth, they purſued the Spaniards into the remoteſt receſſes of their extenſive territories, and grew rich, powerful, and terrible, by the ſpoils of their former maſters. Principally, they fell upon the poſſeſſions of the Portugueſe; they took almoſt all their fortreſſes in the Eaſt-Indies, not ſufficiently defended by the inert policy of the court of Spain; and then turned their arms upon Brazil, unprotected from Europe, and betrayed by the cowardice of the governor of the then principal city. And they would have overrun the whole, if Don Michael de Texeira, the archbiſhop, deſcended from one of the nobleſt families in Portugal, and of a ſpirit ſuperior to his birth, had not believed, that in ſuch an emergency, the danger of his country ſuperſeded the common obligations of his profeſſion. He took arms, and at the head of

his

his monks, and a few ſcattered forces, put a ſtop to the torrent of the Dutch conqueſt. He made a gallant ſtand until ſuccours arrived; and then reſigned the commiſſion with which the public neceſſity and his own virtue had armed him, into the hands of a perſon appointed by authority. By this ſtand he ſaved ſeven of the captainſhips, or provinces, out of fourteen, into which Brazil is divided; the reſt fell into the hands of the Dutch, who conquered and kept them with a bravery and conduct, which would deſerve more applauſe, if it had been governed by humanity.

The famous captain, prince Maurice of Naſſau, was the perſon to whom the Dutch owed this conqueſt, the eſtabliſhment of their colony there, and that advantageous peace which ſecured them in it. But as it is the genius of all mercantile people to deſire a ſudden profit in all their deſigns; and as this colony was not under the immediate inſpection of the States, but ſubject to the company called the Weſt-India Company, from principles narrowed up by avarice and mean notions, they grudged that the preſent profits of the colony ſhould be ſacrificed to its future ſecurity. They found that the prince kept up more troops, and erected more fortreſſes, than they thought neceſſary to their ſafety; and that he lived in a grander manner than they thought became one in their ſervice.

They

They imagined that a little official œconomy was the principal quality neceſſary to form a great conqueror and politician; and therefore they were highly diſpleaſed with their governor prince Maurice, whom they treated in ſuch a manner as obliged him to reſign.

Now their own ſchemes took place. A reduction of the troops; the expence of fortifications ſaved; the charge of a court retrenched; the debts of the company ſtrictly exacted; their gains increaſed cent. by cent. and every thing flouriſhed according to their beſt ideas of a flouriſhing ſtate. But then, all this fine ſyſtem in a ſhort time ended in the total loſs of all their capital, and the entire ruin of the Weſt-India company. The hearts of ſubjects were loſt, by their penurious way of dealing and the ſeverity of their proceedings. The enemy in their neighbourhood was encouraged by the defenceleſs ſtate of their frontiers; and both operated in ſuch a manner, that Brazil was reconquered by the Portugueſe; though after a ſtruggle, in which the States exerted themſelves vigorouſly; but with that aggravated expence, and that ill ſucceſs, which always attends a late wiſdom, and the patching up of a blundering ſyſtem of conduct. A ſtanding leſſon to thoſe people who have the folly to imagine they conſult the happineſs of a nation, when by a pretended tenderneſs for ſome of its advantages, they neglect the only things

that can ſupport it, the cultivating of the good opinion of the people, and the keeping up of a proper force.

CHAP. II.

The climate of Brazil. Of the Brazil wood.

THE name of Brazil was given to this country, becauſe it was obſerved to abound with a wood of that name. It extends all along a tract of fine ſea coaſt upon the Atlantic ocean upwards of two thouſand miles, between the river of Amazons on the North, and that of Plate on the South. To the Northward, the climate is uncertain, hot, boiſterous, and unwholeſome. The country, both there and even in more temperate parts, is annually overflowed. But to the Southward beyond the tropic of Capricorn, and indeed a good way beyond it, there is no part of the world that enjoys a more ſerene and wholeſome air; refreſhed with the ſoft breezes of the ocean on one hand, and the cool breath of the mountains on the other. Hither ſeveral aged people from Portugal retire for their health, and protract their lives to a long and eaſy age.

In general, the ſoil is extremely fruitful, and was found very ſufficient for the comfortable ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants, until the

mines of gold and diamonds were diſcovered. Theſe with the ſugar plantations, occupy ſo many hands, that agriculture lies neglected; and, in conſequence, Brazil depends upon Europe for its daily bread.

The chief commodities which this country yields for a foreign market are, ſugar, tobacco, hides, indigo, ipecacuanha, balſam of Copaibo, and Brazil wood. As this laſt article in a more particular manner belongs to this country, to which it gives its name, and which produces it in the greateſt perfection, it is not amiſs to allow a very little room to the deſcription of it. This tree generally flouriſhes in rocky and barren grounds, in which it grows to a great height and conſiderable thickneſs. But a man who judges of the quantity of the timber, by the thickneſs of the tree, will be much deceived; for, upon ſtripping off the bark, which makes a very large part of the plant, he will find, from a tree as thick as his body, a log no more in compaſs than his leg. This tree is generally crooked, and knotty like the hawthorn, with long branches, and a ſmooth green leaf, hard, dry, and brittle. Thrice a year bunches of ſmall flowers ſhoot out at the extremities of the branches, and between the leaves. Theſe flowers are of a bright red, and of a ſtrong aromatic and refreſhing ſmell. The wood of this tree is of a red colour, hard and dry. It is uſed chiefly in dying red, but

not a red of the beſt kind; and it has ſome place in medicine as a ſtomachic and reſtringent.

CHAP. III.

The trade of Brazil. Its intercourſe with Africa. The ſettlement of the river Amazons, and Rio Janeiro. The gold mines. The commonwealth of the Paulifts. The diamond mines.

THE trade of Brazil is very great, and it increaſes every year. Nor is this a wonder; ſince they have opportunities of ſupplying themſelves with ſlaves for their ſeveral works, at a much eaſier and cheaper rate than any other European power, which has ſettlements in America. For they are the only European nation which has taken the pains to eſtabliſh colonies in Africa. Thoſe of the Portugueſe are very conſiderable, both for their extent and the numbers of their inhabitants; and of courſe they have advantages in that trade which no other nation can have. For beſides their large eſtabliſhment on the Weſtern ſhore of Africa, they claim the whole coaſt of Zanguebar on the Eaſtern ſide, which in part they poſſeſs; beſides ſeveral other large territories, both on the coaſt and in the country, where ſeveral numerous nations acknow-

ledge themſelves their dependants or ſubjects. This is not only of great advantage to them, as it increaſes their ſhipping and ſeamen, and ſtrengthens their commercial reputation, but as it leaves them a large field for their ſlave trade; without which, they could hardly ever ſupply, upon any tolerable terms, their ſettlements in Brazil, which carry off ſuch numbers, by the ſeverity of the works and the unwholſomeneſs of ſome part of the climate; nor could they otherwiſe extend their plantations, and open ſo many new mines as they do, to a degree which is aſtoniſhing.

I own, I have often been ſurprized, that our African traders ſhould chuſe ſo contracted an object for their ſlave trade, which extends to little more than ſome part of the gold coaſt, to Sierra Leone, and Gambia, and ſome other inconſiderable ports; by which they have depreciated their own commodities, and raiſed the price of ſlaves within theſe few years above thirty per cent. Nor is it to be wondered; as in the tract, in which they trade, they have many rivals; the people are grown too expert, by the conſtant habit of European commerce; and the ſlaves in that part are in a good meaſure exhauſted; whereas, if ſome of our veſſels paſſed the Cape of Good Hope, and tried what might be done in Madagaſcar, or on thoſe coaſts which indeed the Portugueſe claim, but do not nor cannot hold, there is

no doubt but that they would find the greater expence and length of time in paſſing the Cape, or the charge of licences which might be procured from the Eaſt-India company, amply compenſated. Our African trade might then be conſiderably enlarged, our own manufactures extended, and our colonies ſupplied at an eaſier rate than they are at preſent, or are likely to be for the future, whilſt we confine ourſelves to two or three places, which we exhauſt, and where we ſhall find the market dearer every day. The Portugueſe, from theſe ſettlements and this extenſive range, draw every year into Brazil between forty and fifty thouſand ſlaves. On this trade all their other depends, and therefore they take great care to have it well ſupplied, for which purpoſe the ſituation of Brazil, nearer the coaſt of Africa than any other part of America, is very convenient; and it co-operates with the great advantages they derive from having colonies in both places.

Hence it is principally, that Brazil is the richeſt, moſt flouriſhing, and moſt growing eſtabliſhment in all America. Their export of ſugar within forty years is grown much greater than it was, though anciently it made almoſt the whole of their exportable produce, and they were without rivals in the trade. It is finer in kind than what any of ours, the French or Spaniſh ſugar plantations, ſend us.

Their

Their tobacco too is remarkably good; and they trade very largely in this commodity to the coaſt of Africa, where they not only ſell it directly to the natives, but ſupply the ſhips of other nations, who find it a neceſſary article to enable them to carry on the ſlave and gold duſt-trade to advantage. The Northern and Southern parts of Brazil abound in horned cattle; theſe are hunted for their hides, of which no leſs than twenty thouſand are ſent annually into Europe.

The Portugueſe were a conſiderable time poſſeſſed of their American empire, before they diſcovered the treaſures of gold and diamonds, which have ſince made it ſo conſiderable. After the expulſion of the Dutch, the colony remained without much attention from the court of Portugal; until in 1685, a miniſter of great ſagacity adviſed the then monarch to turn his thoughts to ſo valuable and conſiderable a part of his territories. He repreſented to him, that the climate in the Bay of All-Saints, where the capital ſtood, was of ſuch a nature as to deaden the activity and induſtry of the people; but that the Northern and Southern extremities of Brazil, in a more temperate climate, invited them to the cultivation of the country. The advice was taken. But, becauſe it was found that the inſolence and tyranny of the native Portugueſe always excited the hatred of the native Brazilians, and conſequently

obſtructed the ſettlements, they were reſolved to people the countries, which were now the object of their care, with thoſe who are called Meſtizes; that is, a race ſprung from a mixture of Europeans and Indians, who they judged would behave better; and who, on account of their connection in blood, would be more acceptable to the Brazilians on the borders, who were not yet reduced. To compleat this deſign, they veſted the government in the hands of prieſts, who acted each as governor in his own pariſh or diſtrict. And they had the prudence to chuſe with great care ſuch men as were proper for the work. The conſequence of theſe wiſe regulations was ſoon apparent; for, without noiſe or force, in fifteen years, they not only ſettled the ſea coaſt, but, drawing in vaſt numbers of the natives, they ſpread themſelves above an hundred miles more to the Weſtward than the Portugueſe ſettlements had ever extended. They opened ſeveral mines, which improved the revenues; the planters were eaſy, and ſeveral of the prieſts made no inconſiderable fortunes.

The fame of theſe new mines drew together a number of deſperadoes and adventurers of all nations and colours; who not agreeing with the moderate and ſimple manners of the inhabitants of the new ſettlements, nor readily ſubmitting to any order or reſtraint elſewhere,

retired

retired into a mountainous part of the country, but fertile enough, and rich in gold; where, by the acceſſion of others in their own circumſtances, they ſoon became a formidable and independent body, and for a long time defended the privileges they had aſſumed with great courage and policy. They were called Pauliſts, from the town and diſtrict called St. Paul, which was their head-quarters. But, as this odd commonwealth grew up in ſo unaccountable a manner, ſo it periſhed in a manner altogether unknown in this part of the world. It is now heard of no longer. The king of Portugal is in full poſſeſſion of the whole country; and the mines are worked by his ſubjects and their ſlaves, paying him a fifth. Theſe mines have poured almoſt as much gold into Europe as the Spaniſh America had of ſilver.

Not many years after the diſcovery of the gold mines, Brazil, which for a century had been given up as a place incapable of yielding the metals for which America was chiefly valued, was now found to produce diamonds too; but at firſt of ſo unpromiſing a nature, that the working of the mines was forbidden by the court of Portugal, leſt, without making any compenſation by their number, they might depreciate the trade which was carried on in thoſe ſtones from Goa. But, in ſpite of this prohibition, a number were from time to

time

time ſmuggled from Brazil; and ſome too of ſuch great weight, and high luſtre and tranſparency, that they yielded very little to the fineſt brought from India. The court now perceived the importance of the trade, and accordingly reſolved to permit it, but under ſuch reſtrictions as might be ſufficiently beneficial to the crown and ſubject; and at the ſame time preſerve the jewels in that ſcarcity which makes the principal part of their value. In 1740, the diamond mines were farmed at one hundred and thirty-eight thouſand Cruſadoes, or about twenty-ſix thouſand pounds ſterling annually, with a prohibition againſt employing more than ſix hundred ſlaves at a time in the works. It is probable that this regulation is not very ſtrictly complied with; the quantity of diamonds being much increaſed, and their value of courſe ſunk, ſince that time. It is true, that diamonds of the very firſt rank are nearly as dear as ever. None of the diamonds of Brazil have ſo high a luſtre as the firſt rate of Golconda; and they have generally ſomething of a duſky yellowiſh caſt; but they have been found of a prodigious ſize. Some years ago we had an account in the news papers of one ſent to the king of Portugal, of a ſize and weight almoſt beyond the bounds of credibility; for it was ſaid to weigh ſixteen hundred carats, or ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty grains;

grains; and conſequently muſt be worth ſeveral millions.

CHAP. IV.

Regulation of the Portugueſe trade. The deſcription of St. Salvador, the capital of Brazil. The fleets for that city. Rio Janeiro and Fernambucca.

THE trade of Portugal is carried on upon the ſame excluſive plan, on which the ſeveral nations of Europe trade with their colonies of America; and it more particularly reſembles the Spaniſh method, by ſending out not ſingle ſhips, as the conveniency of the ſeveral places and the ideas of the European merchants may direct; but by annual fleets, which ſail at ſtated times from Portugal, and compoſe three flotas bound to as many ports in Brazil; to Fernambucca, in the Northern part; Rio Janeiro, at the Southern extremity; and the Bay of All-Saints, in the middle. In this laſt is the capital, which is called St. Salvador, where all the fleets rendezvous on their return to Portugal. This city commands a noble, ſpacious, and commodious harbour. It is built upon an high and ſteep rock, having the ſea upon one ſide, and a lake forming a creſcent, inveſting it almoſt wholly, ſo as nearly to join

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the ſea on the other. This ſituation makes it in a manner impregnable by nature; but they have beſides added to it very ſtrong fortifications. All theſe make it the ſtrongeſt place in America. It is divided into an upper and lower town. The lower conſiſts only of a ſtreet or two, immediately upon the harbour, for the convenience of lading and unlading goods, which are drawn up to the higher town by machines. The ſtreets in the upper town are laid out as regularly as the ground will admit, and are handſomely built. They had forty years ago in this city above two thouſand houſes, and inhabitants proportionable; a ſumptuous cathedral; ſeveral magnificent churches, and many convents, well built and endowed. The Portugueſe fleet ſets out from Liſbon in its voyage hither in the month of February.

I can get no accounts, preciſe enough to be depended upon, of the towns of Fernambucca or Parayba, and the capital of the Rio Janeiro, to enable me to be particular about them. Let it ſuffice that the fleet for the former of theſe ſets out in March, and for the latter in the month of January; but they all rendezvous in the Bay of All-Saints, to the number of an hundred ſail of large ſhips, about the month of May or June, and carry to Europe a cargo little inferior in value to the treaſures of the flota and galleons. The gold

alone

alone amounts to near four millions ſterling. This is not all extracted from the mines of Brazil; but, as they carry on a large direct trade with Africa, they bring, eſpecially from their ſettlement at Mozambique, on the Eaſtern ſide of that continent, beſides their ſlaves, vaſt quantities of gold, ebony, and ivory, which goes into the amount of the cargo of the Brazil fleets for Europe. Thoſe parts of Brazil which yield gold, are the middle and Northern parts on the Rio Janeiro and Bay of All-Saints. They coin a great deal of gold in America; that which is coined at Rio Janeiro bears an R, that which is ſtruck at the Bay is marked with a B.

To judge the better of the riches of this Brazil fleet, the diamonds it contains muſt not be forgot. For if the mines rented to the crown in the year 1740, at twenty-ſix thouſand pounds a year, it will be a very ſmall allowance to ſay, that at leaſt five times more is made out of them; and that there is returned to Europe in diamonds to at leaſt the value of one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds. This, with the ſugar, which is principally the cargo of the Fernambucca fleet, the tobacco, the hides, the valuable drugs for medicine and manufactures, may give ſome idea of the importance of this trade, not only to Portugal, but to all the trading powers of Europe. The returns are not the

fiftieth

fiftieth part of the produce of Portugal. They conſiſt of the woollen goods, of all kinds, of England, France, and Holland; the linens and laces of Holland, France, and Germany; the ſilks of France and Italy; lead, tin, iron, copper, and all ſorts of utenſils wrought in theſe metals, from England; as well as ſalt-fiſh, beef, flour, and cheeſe. Oil they have from Spain. Wine, with ſome fruits, is nearly all with which they are ſupplied from Portugal.

Though the profits in this trade are great, very few Portugueſe merchants trade upon their own ſtocks; they are generally credited by the foreign merchants, whoſe commodities they vend, eſpecially the Engliſh. In ſhort, though in Portugal, as in Spain, all trade with their plantations is ſtrictly interdicted to ſtrangers; yet, like all regulations that contradict the very nature of the object they regard, they are here as little attended to as in Spain. The Portugueſe is only the truſtee and factor; but his fidelity is equal to that of the Spaniſh merchant; and that has ſcarce ever been ſhaken by any public or private cauſe whatſoever. A thing ſurpriſing in the Portugueſe; and a ſtriking inſtance amongſt a people ſo far from remarkable for their integrity, of what a cuſtom originally built upon a few examples, and a conſequent reputation built upon that, will be able to effect in a ſucceſſion

of men of very different natural characters and morals. And ſo different is the ſpirit of commercial honeſty from that of juſtice, as it is an independent virtue, and influences the heart.

The Engliſh at preſent are the moſt intereſted, both in the trade of Portugal for home conſumption, and of what they want for the uſe of the Brazils. And they deſerve to be moſt favoured, as well from the ſervices they have always done that crown, and from the ſtipulations of treaties, as from the conſideration that no other people conſumes ſo much of the products of Portugal. However, partly from our own ſupineneſs, partly from the policy and activity of France, and partly from the fault of the Portugueſe themſelves, the French have become very dangerous rivals to us in this, as in moſt other branches of our trade. It is true, though the French have advanced ſo prodigiouſly, and there is a ſpirit of induſtry and commerce raiſed in moſt countries in Europe, our exports of manufactures, or natural products, have by no means leſſened within theſe laſt forty years; which can only be explained by the extending of our own, and the Spaniſh and Portugueſe colonies, which increaſes the general demand. But, though it be true, that we have rather advanced than declined in our commerce upon the whole, yet we ought to take great care not to be deceived

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by this appearance. For if we have not likewiſe advanced in as great a proportion to what we were before that period, and to our means ſince then, as our neighbours have done in proportion to theirs, as I apprehend we have not, then, I ſay, we have comparatively declined; and ſhall never be able to preſerve that diſtinguiſhed rank of the firſt commercial and maritime power in Europe, time muſt be eſſential to preſerve us in any degree, either of commerce or power. For if any other power, of a more extenſive and populous territory than ours, ſhould come to rival us in trade and wealth, he muſt come of neceſſity to give law to us in whatever relates either to trade or policy. Notwithſtanding that the want of capacity in the miniſters of ſuch a power, or the indolence of the ſovereign, may protract the evil for a time, it will certainly be felt in the end, and will ſhew us demonſtratively, though too late, that we muſt have a great ſuperiority in trade, not only to ourſelves formerly, but to our neighbours at preſent, to have any at all which is likely to continue with us for a long time.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The character of the American Portugueſe. The ſtate of the Negroes. The government.

THE portrait which the moſt judicious travellers give us of the manners and cuſtoms of the Portugueſe in America, is very far from being favourable to that people. They are repreſented as a people at once ſunk in the moſt effeminate luxury, and practiſing the moſt deſperate crimes. Of a diſſembling hypocritical temper; of little honeſty in dealing, or ſincerity in converſation; lazy, proud, and cruel. They are poor and penurious in their diet, not more through neceſſity than inclination. For, like the inhabitants of moſt Southern climates, they are much more fond of ſhow, ſtate, and attendance, than of the joys of free ſociety and the ſatisfaction of a good table. Yet their feaſts, ſeldom made, are ſumptuous to extravagance.

The luxury, indolence, pride, and cruelty of the maſters has, amongſt other cauſes, been very juſtly attributed to their being bred up amongſt ſlaves, having every buſineſs entirely done by ſuch; and to their being permitted to keep a prodigious number of Negroes, not for their field work, nor for

domeſtic employments, but merely to wait upon them, and to form their train. Theſe become more corrupted than their maſters, who make them the inſtruments of their crimes; and, giving them an unbounded and ſcandalous licence, employ them, whenever they want to terrify or revenge, as bullies and aſſaſſins. And indeed nothing can be conceived more fit to create the worſt diſorders, than the unnatural junction of ſlavery to idleneſs and a licentious way of living. They are all ſuffered to go armed, and there are vaſt numbers who have merited or bought their freedom; and this is ſuffered in a country where the Negroes are ten to one.

But this picture, perhaps too highly coloured for thoſe whom it is intended to repreſent, is by no means applicable to all the Portugueſe of Brazil. Thoſe by the Rio Janeiro, and in the Northern captainſhips, are not near ſo effeminate and corrupted as thoſe of the Bay of All-Saints, which, being in a climate favourable to indolence and debauchery, the capital city, one of the oldeſt ſettlements, is in all reſpects worſe than any of the others.

The government of Brazil is in the viceroy, who reſides at St. Salvador. He has two councils, one for criminal, the other for civil affairs; in both which he preſides. But, to the infinite prejudice of the ſettlement, all the delay, chicanery, multiplied

expences

expences incident to the worſt part of the law, and practiſed by the moſt corrupted lawyers, flouriſh here, at the ſame time that juſtice is ſo lax, that the greateſt crimes often paſs with impunity. Formerly the judges could not legally puniſh any Portugueſe with death. And it is not difficult to imagine, how much a licence in ſuch a country muſt have contributed to a corruption, that it may be the buſineſs of ſucceſſions of good magiſtrates, and ages of good diſcipline, to reſtore to ſoundneſs. Upon the river of Amazons, the people, who are moſtly Indians and reduced by the prieſts ſent thither, are ſtill under the government of theſe paſtors. The ſeveral diviſions of this country are called miſſions.

As the Portugueſe have been once diſpoſſeſſed of this country by the Dutch, and once endangered by the French, their misfortunes and dangers have made them wiſe enough to take very effectual meaſures for their future ſecurity. St. Salvador is a very ſtrong fortification; they have others that are not contemptible; beſides a good number of European regular troops, of which there are two regiments in St. Salvador. The militia too is regimented, amongſt whom they reckon ſome bodies of Indians, and free Negroes; and indeed at preſent Brazil ſeems to be in as little danger as the ſettlements of any power

of America, not only from their own internal ſtrength, their remoteneſs, and the intolerable heat and unhealthineſs of a great part of the climate, but from the intereſt that moſt of the ſtates in Europe, who are concerned in that trade, have to keep it in the hands of the Portugueſe.

End of the FIRST VOLUME.

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